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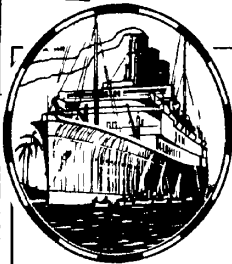
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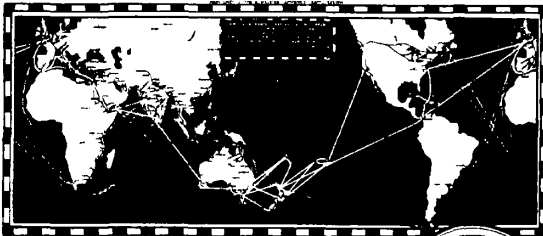


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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY 1922

PROGRESS AT WASHINGTON!

BY BRIGADIER GENERAL C D BRUCE, C B E

THE civilized world has waited with eager hope and intense interest the result of President Harding's first Conference

It may be worth while to attempt to "report progress," though as yet no final settlement upon any of the really important issues has been reached

Of the dramatic and what in all candour may be described as the "new diplomatic method of opening the Conference, there have been numerous and varied opinions. In any case, more time will be needed before it is possible to appraise such a stroke at its true value

A friendly and it was hoped a progressive discussion on naval disarmaments the Allied delegates had come prepared to face. But towards what might be not unfairly described as a "money or your life" disarmament, even the most friendly delegates might be forgiven for looking somewhat askance

Pessimists have already said that the Conference was the last chance of saving civilization. Optimists that after all America was about to shoulder her share of Europe's burden. There was some truth in both statements but neither sums up the whole situation. Nor could any verbal formula do this, for a more delicate and complicated collection of international interests centering in the Pacific, and the Far East have never before been placed before any Conference

Of all the problems which the Committees have discussed

at Washington, by far the most important has been that concerning the future of China. China with its 400,000,000 souls, the most peace-loving law-abiding, specimens of the human race.

It has of late been frequently remarked that prior to the Great War Europe not Asia, was the centre of the world's political horizon. To day the position is reversed. Unless the future of China can be peacefully ensured, what use to think, much less talk of naval disarmament? It is in the Pacific Ocean, if anywhere, that the last great naval war may yet take place. Great Britain the United States Japan and in another sense China, have all the same interest in preventing such a catastrophe.

There are other problems which deeply concern the at times conflicting interests of the three former nations but they pale to nothing comparatively speaking, before that of China's future. How to ensure a peaceful regeneration of one quarter of the world's population? If China follows the example of Russia can civilization as we have learned to reckon it survive? It cannot.

There is a well-known aphorism to the effect that a nation enjoys the government it deserves.

A more orthodox pronouncement would be that the strength of any state lies ultimately in the public consciousness of its citizens. But in a state whose population is politically almost inarticulate, it is manifestly unfair to hold the people responsible. It is no less equally clear to those who know that the Chinese people cannot of themselves make the effort necessary for their own regeneration as a modern state. Put bluntly the problem the Conference is facing is, how to help without dismembering China.

It is fervently to be hoped that the Allied delegates have realized the importance of not attempting too much. If the statesmen assembled at Washington have put before them as a possible achievement the securing of a definite breathing space for China, wherein with the help of her Allies assembled, she may put her house in order and clear

up her present chaotic condition, the Conference has indeed succeeded. It will have earned the gratitude of all who stand for a survival of our present civilization.

Mr Hughes has wisely suggested a definite ten years period of progressive disarmament. Ten years of thorough reorganization at Peking might surpass all expectation. Provided that is the leading nations most interested—Great Britain, the United States and Japan—can agree to work together actively in the interests of China, not of their own immediate interests. On the other hand, unless China has agreed to accept and endure for some such period direct foreign assistance especially in financial matters, no such plan nor any other the Allies may suggest, can bear enduring fruit.

Disarmament must begin in China before it is a possible proposition elsewhere in the Far East. Militarism is at present and for the past eight or ten years has been, the curse of the country. Not until a strong civil regime is re-established will any other reforms follow.

Next in importance to a settlement of China's future comes the problem of co-ordinating Japanese foreign policy especially in the Far East, with that of the United States of America.

It would be idle to pretend that anti-American feeling in Japan and anti-Japanese feeling in America has become greatly modified during these past weeks of discussion at Washington. Here are sparks which demand unceasing care and attention if another world's conflagration is to be put beyond the bounds of possibility. But the new fourfold agreement is the best possible antidote.

American public feeling against the continuance of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has plainly shown itself, and the efforts of her representatives have been thrown into the same scale. Nor can the task of meeting American feeling upon the point without being accused of breaking faith with a tried ally and friend have been an easy one for our own diplomatists.

For us the wider view should guide, subject that is to strengthening so far as may be England's ties with America. Japanese friendship has undoubtedly been of inestimable value during the war, looked at only from the point of view of India and our Asiatic empire. To have broken off abruptly the Alliance would have meant to sacrifice once for all Japanese friendship for Great Britain. British representatives at Washington would have had a great responsibility to bear should America have insisted upon such a policy. But this issue has happily not arrived as we now know a combination of the four interests with those of China has been safely engineered and once more a great success has crowned President Harding's efforts.

Regarding the clash of American and Japanese interests in other parts of the Far East probably full discussion has taken place. But here again such frank and free discussion as it is generally considered the committees are giving to all the existing problems will have disclosed—to speak frankly—that American and Japanese interests cannot at present quite fuse.

The American people demand peace and disarmament. Japan's foreign policy, at any rate the policy of her military minority, is diametrically opposed to such a proceeding. America desires a discontinuance of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Japan makes and has made it the corner stone of her foreign policy.

Japan's future problem in Eastern Siberia is hardly yet clear to her own leaders nor can it be so long as a Soviet Government opposes any Japanese right to make her future interests there even though only economic more definite.

America has desired a precise and clearly outlined future programme in China and Siberia as part of the Conference. Japan hesitates to enter into any discussion of the details of these problems. She would prefer at this stage as she has already said some agreement upon general principles only.

So rapidly have events moved before the energetic

onslaught of Mr Hughes, that it might appear as if "all was over bar the shouting" But, as future events in the Far East will prove, this is hardly the case

Now that a Quadruple Entente between England, America, Japan, and France for joint action in the Far East and in the Pacific has been signed, President Harding has secured a great triumph Though not a personal one it is the triumph of a personality which possesses the foresight breadth of view, and quickness of decision of a statesman of the highest calibre

That the settlement of the Far Eastern main problem has after all preceded that of disarmament is only another tribute to the intuitive statesmanship of the President and his advisers The dramatic opening of the Conference was, we now see necessary in order to produce the right atmosphere Only in that atmosphere could the quadruple pact have been created and given birth

What will the new policy of the Entente be towards China? Will the decision at Washington mark a change in international psychology?

We are told that the four Powers concerned are accepting mutual obligations that they will refrain from aggression in the Pacific, and will invite friendly intervention from each other on matters which concern the group This at any rate secures a period of delay in case of sudden international disagreement, and of itself contributes more to prevent 'war at sight' than reams of carefully worded secret treaties

To turn from academic discussions to realities The first step towards securing future peace and a general decrease of armaments in the Far East is the pacification of China The delay in settling the actual terms of naval reduction at Washington is credited to lie with the Government at Tokyo whose answer at the time of writing has not yet been received Until disarmament has taken place in China it is difficult to conceive any Government in Japan anxious to weaken either its naval or military strength

Dominated as China at this present moment is, from Canton to Peking by various military freebooters masquerading as Governors of Provinces, anything might happen to disturb international relations

It is no exaggeration to say that until a disbandment of the provincial armies has been brought about, there can be neither peace nor prosperity for the country. Nor this time will the usual farcical paper transaction suffice. Any disbandment of this horde of useless and dangerous soldiery, to be worth the name, will cost money. This the new Allied Powers will no doubt be ready to provide. By thus providing the cost of any disbandment scheme on a large scale the Allies will earn the right to be represented on whatever body the new Chinese Government see fit to set up to organize such disbandment. To disband without finding suitable employment for the so called soldiery who at present constitute the provincial armies will be no disbandment at all. Not only must employment be found for these arrogant gentry but the return of military stores arms and ammunition of all kinds will have to be controlled. These as well as many other matters will tax the administrative ability of the most honest and patriotic Chinese officials, even when aided by foreign help.

Next must come security for internal trade, and the right of the people to till their soil without let or hindrance. These are two fundamental and immemorial rights which have always belonged to the 400 000 000 who compose China's masses. From the dim ages of antiquity through dynasty after dynasty these two claims have invariably been insisted upon and conceded. Woe betide the ruler or government who has failed to satisfy the 'stupid' people upon these two points. As 3 000 years of Chinese history show, in the end such a ruler or government invariably fell. Patience beyond the bounds of Western understanding has ever been the characteristic of China's millions.

If the four great Powers are at last prepared to step in

with a cut-and-dried and united policy for helping the Chinese people and its new representatives to set to work to reorganize the Government, an enduring foundation stone has been laid

To insinuate that such a policy is conceivable is almost sufficient to drive a certain class of Chinese 'student' into a state of frenzy. But in spite of frenzied Chinese 'students' there is no alternative. The Chinese are incapable of setting their own house in order. Most foreigners of long experience are agreed that this is so. Unless the so-called reorganization of the Government is once more to end in idle talk and in the utterance only of the same old platitudes, an Allied offer of help must be accepted to save the situation.

By help let it be clearly understood is not meant control of any kind. The time has long passed when the idea of a Chinese Government existing under foreign control is even thinkable. But let the Chinese people choose the Government they desire and by means of the Provincial Assemblies this could be ensured upon sufficiently broad lines to mean representative government of a kind suited to the people; then it is up to the four great Powers already mentioned to stand behind and back that Government by every means in their power, or that the Chinese desire.

That there is one drawback to the above suggestion cannot be denied and it lies in the difficulty of ensuring that each of the four Powers shall feel equally bound to carry out the agreement between them in a spirit of general good will not only to one another but to China.

It is idle to pretend that there is not this difficulty. To any person with an inside knowledge of Far Eastern politics it is obvious that it comes from the not unnatural attitude which, in the past, Japanese military advisers insisted upon with regard to Manchuria and Mongolia, let alone other portions of China. Fortunately, in the creation of the new Quadruple Entente we may hope to find the key

to any such passing difficulty From the friendly advances of Great Britain, America, France, and Japan, offered in all good friendship and unitedly, may come, at last, the salvation of China.

To those who know her toiling millions at first hand their patience under almost overwhelming suffering their wonderful capacity for fighting heroically the everyday battle of life, their almost uncanny cheerfulness in the never ending struggle against actual starvation, if for no higher reasons, the trial is well worth making To what, at present, undreamed of heights the Chinese as a nation might rise if fairly and honestly treated, time alone will show

ANGLO CHINESE FRIENDSHIP AND THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

BY CHAO HSIN CHU

(*Chinese Charge d'Affaires in London*)

THE Washington Conference vitally concerns our country whenever Far Eastern questions are considered and I welcome this opportunity of stating what in my opinion, China's aims and objects really are

1 Despite what is read in newspapers China is not going to ask too much or raise difficult and irritating questions. We appreciate the realities of the situation and therefore restrain ourselves from entertaining any extravagant and unreasonable hopes from the Conference

2 China enters the Conference with no intention of being a truculent power arraigning any other nations. She looks upon all as friends and none as enemies. She views the Conference as an opportunity for amicable discussions of problems of mutual interest to all, with a view to preserving peace in the Far East and the Pacific

3 China will declare to the Conference that her door is wide open. We propose to keep our door open always, and shall also beg our neighbours and allies to help us in our intention to keep it practically and permanently open. China is really looking for an effective form of international co-operation which aims at the maintenance of her open door policy which facilitates her economic and commercial development and promotes the common interests of the Treaty Powers without prejudicing her territorial integrity or her political independence

And what the world is longing for to day is peace. Peace in the Far East is practically the key to the peace of the world. Peace must be based on a permanent foundation and that foundation must be justice. What China

10 *Anglo-Chinese Friendship and Washington Conference*

wants to day is justice. Justice alone can sweep away all such contrivances as special interests and spheres of influence. Beyond question, justice to China will not only serve as a key to the peace of the Far East, but to the peace of the world as well. In short, peace in China and justice to China will give to the whole world equal opportunity in commerce and perpetual tranquillity in the Far East.

The chief aim of our neighbours and allies is commerce, whilst our aim is peace. Our aim is practically their aim, for there can be no commerce without peace.

China is a great international market and her door is wide open—open to the whole world in general, and to Great Britain in particular. China possesses a magnificent extent of country, which is even larger than the British Isles and all the Colonies in the British Empire combined together. It is a most productive land from which the supply of natural resources is almost unlimited. As a manufacturing country England is always looking for supplies of raw materials and also seeking a market for its manufactured output. In that direction I dare say there is no other country save the Colonies in the British Empire, which can answer Britain's purposes better than China.

It will be easy to appreciate how large must be the demands of 400 millions of people for manufactured products. With the tremendous commercial opportunities, China must of necessity remain peaceful, yet without foreign interference. I assert this, since foreign interference will assuredly tend to damage the sovereignty and independence of China and thereby hurt the feelings of the Chinese people. Therefore in order to keep and improve the Chinese market for British products—and in this market Great Britain has had a strong hold for many decades which she cannot afford to lose—it is very important for British business men to see that China is allowed to take care of herself and peacefully to prosper along commercial lines. I advise therefore whenever

you see foreign influence interfering with China to urge that Great Britain should lend her a helping hand to ward off such outside intervention

I imagine we all know that Germany wanted to monopolize world commerce by means of war. Should we have lost the Great War, what would have been the result? None of the Allies would any longer have been a free country. Where there is no free country there no free commerce can exist.

Let me congratulate you upon the great part you took in helping to win the war in the Near East. Can you afford to neglect giving your help to avert a future conflict in the Far East?

There are rumours which suggest that China's internal troubles stand in the way of foreign trade and that foreign assistance is needed to solve China's internal problems. Do not believe half you are told by the scaremongers. Discount by 80 per cent. all the other half.

Some newspapers report that China is now suffering from financial chaos and the approach of bankruptcy. It is true the Chinese Government has suffered very much financially but the financial conditions of China as a whole are sound and solvent. The total domestic and foreign debts in China amount to not quite one billion dollars spread over 400 million people it means \$2.50 per head, or in English money about 7s. while in England it works out at about £1.74 per head. As to taxation in China it is one of the lightest in the world being \$1.50 per head, or in English currency about 3s. 8d. against £3.0 per head in this country.

As to Customs revenue China has no freedom of tariff. She is bound by the treaties made with the foreign Powers not to raise higher than 5 per cent. the import duty on foreign goods. It is an *ad valorem* 5 per cent. effectively it amounts to only 3.7 per cent. It is obviously very unfair to restrain China from raising a higher rate of import duty and hence it is a cause of the great deficit in the

12 *Anglo Chinese Friendship and Washington Conference*

Government Budget In order to improve her financial conditions, China is justified in asking the foreign Powers to allow her freedom of tariff, or at least allow her to raise up to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, as her Delegates asked at the Washington Conference

In fact, our financial standing is still far better than that of many of the European countries after the Great War. Take foreign exchange for instance. China's tael which before the war was worth rather less than 3s. is still worth 4s. odd while French and Belgian francs are worth only about 5d., Italian lire 3d., the German mark $\frac{1}{4}$ d. and the Austrian kroner forty for 1d. I am also glad to mention that China is one of the very few countries which after the war use metallic money in all their business transactions. Others use paper money almost exclusively.

It is true that China has internal troubles. I do not deny it, but no country can entirely get rid of politics, especially such countries as China which has only recently changed its form of Government.

England has her internal troubles. I have though a foreign diplomat heard some allusions to a country called Ireland. So have we our troubles. England is solving her internal problems without being interfered with by outside influence. Why should China not do likewise? Your troubles do not stand in the way of your trade. Neither do ours. The trade statistics speak for themselves. It must be remembered that the Chinese people are a peaceful community, a trading race. When I am asked—particularly at the time of the Washington Conference—to admit that China is a truculent power, I reply that our whole aim and object is peace. We are the great advocates of disarmament but we have pointed out that the disease cannot be cured if the causes are ignored and for that reason, we have urged a settlement of the many problems which lead to constant unrest in the Far East. That is wisdom not truculence.

China has to carry out a work of development and

education such as here in England can hardly be imagined. Consider the size of our country and the number of our people. For this work peace and tranquillity are essential. We may not be able to realize our aim in a few brief years. Therefore be tolerant, be sympathetic—we shall succeed better with your kind good will and your friendly criticism.

We are all aware that there is too much of politics at home; consequently, this has been creating internal troubles in different parts of the country. Our country is just now confronting the most critical stage which we have ever experienced since the New Régime. Yet we must not give up hope that this cloudy and stormy weather will sooner or later clear away and all will be calm again, and therefore we should not be discouraged.

Let us compare China with America. America wrangled feebly and dangerously for several years after the War of Independence before her Federal Government was established. Moreover the Civil War in America in 1861 to 1865 was a colossal struggle much the same as in China to day where North and South are fighting each other. America fought for the Union and so does China to day.

Let us trace French history. After the Great Revolution France was regarded as a land of revolutions and political instability for nearly a century. During that generation foreign observers preached endlessly about the political inefficiency of the French people and foretold the hopelessness of expecting any progress in the French Republic just so to day they sneer at young China, and foretell the political disintegration of the Chinese people.

Our Republic is only ten years old—she is like a child who takes time to grow up. The English people have taken hundreds of years to build up the England of to-day and the same thing is true of China.

The work of drawing together the bonds of Anglo-Chinese friendship can be furthered very effectively by the encouragement of Chinese students to visit this country.

Chinese students in England are much fewer in number

14 *Anglo Chinese Friendship and Washington Conference*

than in America. There are only about 250 in this country, compared with those studying in American colleges and universities, numbering over 2 000. It is not because the Chinese students prefer America to England educationally but simply because America provides both means and facilities for Chinese students, thus inducing them to go over to her. More attention should be drawn to the maintenance of Chinese students in America by means of the Boxer Indemnity Fund, which was returned to China by the American Government. Besides, American manufacturers welcome Chinese students who wish to work in the factories to gain practical experience.

America's trade with China has been greatly increasing during recent years, partly, it is true, because America took advantage of war conditions but largely also because of pro American Chinese advocating the use of American goods.

Why can't England do the same as America is doing to induce more Chinese students to come over here? The benefit is mutual. It will not only help China in educating her young generation for the future development of industrial enterprises, but will help the English manufacturers as well to expand their trade in the Chinese markets. More manufacturers will be kept busy with their machinery and their manual workers, more people will return to work. Therefore, it will indirectly help to solve your problem of unemployment.

England's business name stands high and will be kept high. It is not difficult for you to do so—firstly, through the excellence of your standard of manufactures; secondly, on account of the rectitude of your dealings; and finally, by a better and more friendly understanding of the Chinese, who are such great buyers of your merchandise.

A JAPANESE VIEW OF THE PACIFIC PACT

BY AIICHI NISHINOIRI

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WHATEVER may be the form which the Pacific Pact may take and however many Powers may ultimately become signatory to its terms the Japanese can only welcome the Pact with the sincerest satisfaction. From time to time during the Conference negotiations which preceded the announcement of the draft Pact rumours of difficulties connected with Japanese policy in regard to the general Pacific and Far Eastern position were prevalent, and, in some cases it was stated that Japan might wreck the chances of agreement. Such statements were as events proved entirely unwarranted but they were undoubtedly due to the misunderstanding, or ignorance of the main lines of Japanese foreign policy particularly with regard to China which has not been subject to the variations which people have attributed to it.

Broadly speaking Japan had always aimed at three things the maintenance of cordial relations with America the establishment of peace in China and security for her own national development. With regard to the second point it must be admitted by any impartial investigator of Sino Japanese relations during the last two decades that the Japanese Government has time and again given proof of exemplary patience and moderation in handling negotiations with the representatives of China. The course of events which ultimately resulted in the proclamation of a Chinese Republic had been witnessed by Japan with considerable misgiving as she feared there was a strong possibility that a Republican leadership would fail to weld together into a coherent mass the elements of which her great Western neighbour was composed. A disunited China had always been regarded by Japanese statesmen as a potential danger to the peace of the East not only on account of the influence which such a state of affairs was bound to exert upon the political and economic life of Japan but because they recognized clearly that European nations with interests in China might possibly fall into disagreement over episodes directly due to the unsettled conditions. For these reasons Japan welcomed the Treaty, negotiated with Great Britain in 1902, and hoped that,

under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, they might be able to exert a steadying influence to maintain the peace of the Far East. The fall of the Manchu dynasty and the recognition in 1913 of the Chinese Republic were unfortunately the prelude to a state of chaos which proved that Japanese misgivings with regard to a settlement of Chinese affairs were abundantly justified. At the present moment the confusion in China is probably worse than it has been at any period during the last ten years and it has been a guiding principle of the Japanese delegates at Washington that general agreement among the Powers must be reached in order to assist China to put her house in order. The moderation and magnanimity which Japan has displayed at the Conference table with regard to her legitimate interests in China and the sincere desire she has shown for amicable understanding with her great neighbour were not diplomatic manoeuvres aimed at obtaining by the support of America and other nations a privileged position in regard to China but were the simple and logical outcome of a carefully considered and long pursued policy the policy of establishing and maintaining peaceful relations with the Republic. Japan has willingly consented to the abrogation, or disappearance, of the Anglo Japanese Alliance, because the instrument which ultimately will secure the same objects is obviously as acceptable the future adherence by other nations to the principles laid down is to her mind, a striking tribute to the clear-sightedness of Great Britain and herself because they originally evolved these principles nearly twenty years ago. Japan has, be it said always been at a loss to understand why some sections of American opinion professed to see in the Anglo Japanese Alliance a menace to peace between Japan and the United States in view of her age long policy of friendship with America who was instrumental in opening up the Island Empire to intercourse with the world. Neither the Japanese people nor the Japanese Government has shared this conception nevertheless, it is a source of satisfaction that in addition to providing for joint deliberation among the contracting parties with regard to any Pacific question the new Pact should tend to eliminate, once and for all American suspicions of Japan. At the same time there undoubtedly remains an impression of soreness on the part of the Japanese, who are conscious that their attitude towards China has been misjudged in America and now feel that the *amende honorable* in the shape of a renewal of American confidence may be reasonably expected.

In regard to the third point of Japanese foreign policy mentioned above—namely the security for national development—this has been at least as much misunderstood as her traditional policy of friendship towards China. The Japanese Government has been faced by a problem of great difficulty—it was necessary on the one hand not only to provide an ever increasing population with the primary means of subsistence but also to safeguard the economic development of the Island Empire by securing access to raw materials for her industries. Both these objects could only be attained by securing the co-operation of the United States on the east and of China on the west and unfortunately the former was mistrustful and the latter in a state bordering on chaos. America's trust was needed if Japan was to develop her export trade with her. China's economic prosperity was essential if Japan was to obtain from her those supplies of raw material which she urgently required. The future economic prosperity of each of the three countries was in fact, interdependent.

To secure these conditions was therefore the mainspring of Japanese policy and she was disappointed and chagrined to find that instead of receiving the recognition of her natural aspiration for progress and development she was accused of militaristic ambitions and a desire for the political domination of China. Happily the Washington Conference provided a much needed opportunity for the Japanese delegates to make their position clear—their declarations with regard to Shantung, their ready acceptance of the Root principles and their concurrence in the proposals to abandon concessions in common with other Powers in China, have proved their good faith to the world.

How, then, do the Japanese regard the prospects of the new Pact at present? The answer is that they consider that its successful application will depend on one thing only, and that is whether China can improve her internal situation. However satisfactorily the Powers may agree as to the methods which should be employed in China, all such agreement will be futile unless China herself takes energetic steps for her own salvation. Japan desires to believe that all will be well, and will play her part with entire good faith, in assisting towards this result—but that good faith must not be doubted in the future as it has been in the past, and above all China herself must understand that the hand of fellowship and friendship is being extended to her in all sincerity.

INDIAN SWARAJ AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

BY PRITHWEE CHANDRA RAY

(Editor of *The Bengalee* Calcutta)

THERE are two political ideals before the Indian people at the present moment. One is the attainment of the status of Dominion Home Rule and the other is 'Swaraj' without the British. The former is the ideal of the Moderate and the Liberal party in India and the latter of the non-co operating Nationalists. These two objectives represent quite divergent and practically conflicting ideals of Indian Nationalism and require a bit of close examination to find out what they really stand for and the implications that underlie them.

The word 'Swaraj' was first introduced into Indian political literature by the late Mr Dadabhai Naoroji. In the course of a very diffuse and discursive address delivered to the Indian National Congress as President of its session held in 1906 in Calcutta Mr Naoroji used the word 'Swaraj' in the following context:

All our sufferings and evils of the past centuries demand before God and man a reparation which we may fairly expect from the present revival of the old noble British instincts of liberty and self government. I do not intend to enter into our past sufferings as I have already said at the outset.

'The British people would not allow themselves to be subjected for a single day to such an unnatural system of government as the one which has been imposed upon India for nearly a century and a half. Sir H. Campbell Bannerman has made a happy quotation from Mr Bright. I remember John Bright quoting in the House of Commons on one occasion two lines of a poet with reference to political matters:

There is on earth a yet diviner thing
Veiled though it be than Parliamen or King

Then Sir Henry asks: 'What is that diviner thing?' It is the human conscience inspiring human opinion and human sympathy. I ask them to extend that human conscience, the diviner thing to India in the words of Mr Morley:

It will be a bad day indeed if we have one conscience for the Mother Country and another conscience for all that vast territory over which your eye does not extend.

'And now the next question is: 'What are the British rights which we have a right to claim?'

'This is not the occasion to enter into any details or argument I keep to broad lines

"(1) Just as the administration of the United Kingdom in all services departments and details is in the hands of the people themselves of that country so should we in India claim that the administration in all services departments and details should be in the hands of the people themselves of India

This is not only a matter of right and matter of the aspirations of the educated—important enough as these matters are—but it is far more an absolute necessity as the only remedy for the great inevitable economic evil which Sir John Shore pointed out a hundred and twenty years ago and which is the fundamental cause of the present drain and poverty. The remedy is absolutely necessary for the material moral intellectual political social industrial and every possible progress and welfare of the people of India

(2) As in the United Kingdom and the Colonies all taxation and legislation and the power of spending the taxes are in the hands of the representatives of the people of those countries so should also be the rights of the people of India

(3) All financial relations between England and India must be just and on a footing of equality—i.e. whatever money India may find towards expenditure in any department civil or military or naval to the extent of that share should Indians share in all the benefits of that expenditure in salaries pensions emoluments materials etc. as a partner in the Empire as she is always declared to be. We do not ask any favours. We want only justice. Instead of going into any further divisions or details of our rights as British citizens the whole matter can be comprised in one word—self government or *swaraj* like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies

Evidently what Dadabhai Naoroji meant by *swaraj* in 1906 was something quite different from what is understood by that term to-day. With Naoroji it meant some sort of responsible government, of course within the Empire. He asked for more personal rights greater liberties and the bulk of high offices in the State for the Indian people. Within the scope of his *swaraj* might also be included a scheme of all round retrenchment including the reduction of the military budget and lesser bureaucratic rule and more popular control in all administrative affairs.

The Hobbouse Commission of Decentralization appointed in 1907 and the Public Services Commission of 1913 over which Lord Islington presided were feeble attempts made by the Government to meet halfway the objective Mr Dadabhai Naoroji had in view. The Reports of these Commissions instead of placating Indian aspirations tended to irritate public opinion. Between Mr Naoroji's pronouncement of 1906 and the publication of the Islington Commission's Report in 1916 much water had flowed down the Ganges and with the great European War quite a new wave of national self consciousness seized the Indian

public mind. The new principle of "self determination" offered a new heaven and a new earth to all subject and downtrodden peoples, and, since its enunciation from the high throne of state at Washington the Nationalist mind in India has got obsessed with it, and would be comforted with nothing short of absolute responsible government. India is determined to try the experiment of pouring new and heady wine into an old bottle: come what may out of it.

In the Congress of 1920 Mr. Gandhi gave a new meaning to the word *Swaraj*. From the year 1908, when Bal Gangadhar Tilak stood up for *Swaraj* at Surat till the year of grace 1920 the Indian Nationalist mind had always understood by this word a form of responsible government within the British Empire. At any rate this idea lay behind the creed of the Congress which every delegate to it was required to sign, and had willingly subscribed to for close upon twelve years. In the Congress of 1920 held at Nagpur Mr. Gandhi got that body to accept an amendment to its constitution which pulverized the Indian attachment to the British connection and carried the idea of "*Swaraj*" much beyond the original concept. In Mr. Gandhi's new patriotic ideal and also in view of the Indian National Congress now *Swaraj* means more an independent sovereign State than an integral part of the British Empire. Politically and frankly, that is Mr. Gandhi's ideal, and the ideal of the entire non-co-operation party in the country though Mr. Gandhi has been careful enough not to describe *Swaraj* in explicit terms nor to pin himself down to any definite creed. It may be that the idea is in a condition of flux and still eludes definition; it may be that Mr. Gandhi is afraid to make an open declaration of war against British rule; it may also be that Mr. Gandhi is pursuing the idea as a mere spiritual and philosophic will-o'-the-wisp. Whatever it be it is quite on the cards that Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants do not desire any longer the continuance of British connection with this country. That is the long and short of the Gandhi cult—the most formidable menace to the future progress and well-being of India.

Here India stands at the parting of the ways. Is it good for her to start on a new career of "self determination," without the protective agencies of British rule or should she adhere to British connection and develop her manhood within that Empire? That is the living issue before New India. It is conveniently forgotten by the advocates of the first school of thought that India has a long coastline open

to attacks from all sides—in the east west and south—everywhere excepting the north and the north west. So long as India is not able to develop her own navy she has perforce to depend upon the British Navy for her protection round the sea-line. Even if Nationalist India wanted to build up a navy they could not raise it for the mere asking like Aladdin's lamp, and do it in less than four or five generations of time. Japan began her navy nearly a quarter of a century ago and, with her illimitable resources and unique opportunities she does not yet feel quite safe in her Pacific isolation. She has yet a long leeway to make up. If in spite of all her frantic efforts to build up a navy Japan has not succeeded in her purpose so far how miserably must India lag behind in a naval competition with the world with her absolutely slender resources!

Then as for our north western and north eastern frontiers they have been the floodgates of invasion from the earliest dawn of history. From the earliest day when the Aryans swooped down the Hindukush and settled down in the Indus Valley ambitious adventurers have used the rugged passes in the Sulaman Range for endless raids into India. The north-eastern frontier has not offered very large temptations and facilities to the spirit of conquest, yet now and again seething masses of the yellow and the Mongoloid races have poured into Indian soil and made peace and security of life unstable for centuries in Burma, Assam, and the eastern Himalayan districts.

The Nationalists seem to think that India has the finest natural defences in the world and absolutely no foe in sight—in fact none to knock at her gates and disturb her peace and placid contentment. And yet would it be believed that in the year of grace 1920 no fewer than 611 raids took place in the settled districts of the North West Frontier Province involving the loss of nearly three hundred Indian lives and the wounding of nearly four hundred others to say nothing of over four hundred and fifty cases of kidnapping? If this state of things is possible even when we have strong forces up on the frontier and British prestige behind them it would be interesting to know what would happen to us if the British Army did not keep watch and ward over our safety in that part of the world.

Then there is the question of cultural development to consider. I suppose it would be agreed by all reasonable men that no people can progress and cultivate the arts and sciences so long as they find their hearths and homes insecure. It is only the security of life and property that

gives a nation the opportunity for the cultivation and practice of the arts and sciences and the nobler virtues of the human race. If British protection is withdrawn from India to-day we shall certainly have to fill in the void by our indigenous efforts. And who will guarantee that on our own we shall always succeed in beating the foreign foe, no matter whether he comes from the north west or down the valley of the Brahmaputra? It must not be thought that the problem of the defence of India is a very light one and that even if the British were to withdraw from India we should have a very easy task in maintaining our 'Swaraj'. So long therefore, as we cannot think of replacing the British Army and Navy with our own—equally well equipped and well organized—I cannot conceive of India as a self-dependent and self secured sovereign State. And as to British rule being replaced by Afghan, Russian, Chinese, or Japanese conquest I would certainly not like India to take a leap into the unknown. I have no doubt that eight out of every ten men who understand international politics or know anything of foreign affairs would prefer British rule to any other rule in India. If it is to be a foreign subjection, why not the subjection of the greatest and the most civilized Empire in the world? There is no room for sentiment in the decision of such a momentous issue and no true friend of the Motherland should exert himself to change the shackles of a foreign yoke merely for the fun of getting new and harder shackles round his neck.

So those who want to cut our connection with England for a sort of 'Swaraj' outside the British Empire must either be impatient idealists or hopeless visionaries. These amiable patriots do not count in practical politics as their vision does not go much beyond their noses. They hardly realize that 'Swaraj' without a national army and navy would certainly not be worth even a day's purchase. The Central Asian cloud is no mere bogey but a real menace and our enemies across the border will not allow us to enjoy our 'Swaraj' without coming into a deadly grip and measuring strength and sword with us. How many people in India can realize what that struggle would involve?

There are some other difficulties in the situation of India which have to be seriously considered before India can think of breaking her connection with England. It is British arms and British rule and British law and order that have welded the multitudinous people of India into a united nation. Once British authority is withdrawn from

India it is more likely than not that provinces and peoples will fall out amongst themselves and try to establish independent governments and seize each other's territories as was done before the advent, and after the decay of Mogul rule in Delhi. And when India becomes a divided house again she will become a still more easy prey to the military ambitions of foreign courts and the idea of a federal government and a united people again will recede back to the remote future like a mirage.

Conceding that an Indian Swaraj would materialize on December 31 as Mr. Gandhi has so confidently held out to his followers what about the great Hindu Muhammadan problem? Thanks to British suzerainty and British overlordship a Hindu-Muhammadan entente has now become possible in India, though it is difficult to believe in the sincerity of this movement. The recent Moplah atrocities and outrages on Hindus in Malabar afford us an object-lesson of this insincerity. The Hindu religious ideals and practices differ so widely from those of the Muhammadans that until both give up their religious fanaticism and social conservatism a real lasting union and alliance between these two warring communities must remain for a long time a camouflage and make-believe in Indian politics. I have no doubt in my own mind that if British overlordship were withdrawn from India to day Hindus and Muhammadans would begin to fly at each other's throats to-morrow in all parts of the Empire and make a hell of Mr. Gandhi's Swaraj.

Then there is another very important fact which is very conveniently ignored in the consideration of this vital issue. Nearly a third of India and a fifth of Indian mankind is still under Indian princes and if they do not choose to throw in their lot with non-cooperating Swarajists in British India what then? Would it not involve endless conflict and struggle and provoke a free flow of innocent blood for years and the arrest and paralysis for that period of all arts, industries and applied sciences throughout India? For what compensating advantages and benefits should we be prepared to destroy the work of centuries and set back the clock of progress? For what assured prospects should we prepare ourselves to enter into a long period of internecine quarrels and fratricidal conflict? Taking again the converse proposition as a possible contingency that the Indian princes will sacrifice everything they have on earth and throw in their lot with non-cooperation the same difficulty arises—how to apportion among the different provinces of

India the territories of these princes? Who would hold the balances even between these different powers? It is bound to lead India back to her elemental chaos

Do or think as we may there is no alternative to British suzerainty in India now and for a long time to come and we want it if only to keep all warring sections of the community at peace with one another, and also to allow a homogeneous nationhood to develop and work a common destiny

I have already set out the chances of domestic troubles and dissensions and foreign invasions if India were to be left without the British to day. A strong and insensate anti British feeling may excite our passion and cloud our reasoning and common sense and induce us to ignore the difficulties of the situation. But no true friend of India who can think dispassionately and knows the history the traditions and the experiences of the Motherland during her long travail through the centuries will ever confound the real issues and leap from the frying-pan into the fire. No nation can ever thrive or flourish on the mere wisdom of the ostrich. The Sphinx must be rightly answered by every nation if it would escape doom or Nemesis. There is no short cut to the national goal.

I have dealt so far with the political ideal of that section of non co operation and the extreme Nationalist mind who have set their goal as the attainment of a 'Swaraj' without the British. Now I will discuss the Moderate or the Liberal ideal of getting to our goal with the help and co-operation of the British. This brings me to the positive side of the question.

I will start with the idea—an incontrovertible proposition—that the immense resources of the British Empire offer us a unique protection and security—a protection unthinkable under any other circumstances. Economically, of course, the maintenance of the British Army in India involves a huge drain upon the slender resources of India and paralyzes to a great extent the progress and development of the country. Yet we have nothing to pay for the upkeep and maintenance of the British Navy whose untiring vigilance has kept our shores secure for over two centuries. But apart from the financial question the advantages of remaining as an integral part of the British Empire outweigh all other considerations. Among other advantages in favour of our retention of the British connection are the rights of colonization and emigration we have now secured in Canada, New Zealand, East Africa, Australia and every

other part of the Empire excepting South Africa—rights which we could not think of under any other circumstance. As a unit of the Empire, we have also the markets of practically a third of the world open to our trade and commerce and above all pecuniary and material considerations, we enjoy unparalleled opportunities of commerce throughout the English-speaking world.

And now I come to an absolutely higher plane of thought. The time has now passed by when nations should still remain cribbed, cabined and confined by narrow patriotic ideals. With the inauguration of the League of Nations the world has opened a new chapter of international co-operation and of universal peace and prosperity. Parochial and patriotic ideals have been swept off the board everywhere only to be replaced by loftier sentiments and even the vision of self-determination has been merged in the wider outlook of the concerted development of the human race. Internationalism and cosmopolitanism are the cries of the world to-day. The late European War having clearly shown that the world is too small a place for nations to fight with each other without serious risks to the culture and civilization of all. The Hindus of old in their self-contained hamlets on the banks of the Indus, the Ganges or the Jumna, had realized after centuries of bitter struggle and conflict as the European nations are doing to-day that the human mind could not develop to its proper stature with mere tribal, communal or patriotic ideals. For man to grow to his full height he must accept the brotherhood of the species as an abiding faith and extend his love to all corners of the earth. Absorption, assimilation and love of man and all sentient beings including the botanical creation became the outstanding features of Indian culture and civilization long before Christ was born. This ideal constituted the glory and pride of ancient India. What has happened to us in this new era of the world to justify a reactionary departure from the ancient ideals and aims of our life? If we have been a decadent people for so many centuries is it necessary that we should try to go back upon our own culture and imitate the vulgar materialism of a commercial world? Forward and not backward should be the living principle of every social organism and India if it is to live and thrive must be prepared to move forward.

I think I have now been able to make my position clear as to why the ample folds of the British Empire offer us the realization of a satisfactory scheme of Swaraj. To me

who has been a careful student of Indian affairs for close upon a quarter of a century the future ideal government in India is a federal commonwealth working as a limb of the English-speaking League of Nations. The federal units (or the provinces) of India will have to be developed on the lines of the United States of America, under certain restrictions and limitations as have been imposed by the Central Government at Washington. Each Federal State shall have sovereign powers to deal with its domestic affairs, but none allowed to interfere with or encroach upon the independence and autonomy of the neighbouring States or raise tariff walls against each other. Each of these States shall raise its own revenues from certain defined sources and spend them as they please the Central Government being allowed to draw its revenues from residuary sources. The Army and Navy, Railways, Customs and Income Tax may continue to be Imperial subjects as they are at Washington and now at Simla. The Government of India will act as the link between the people of India and the British Parliament and the Empire beyond. To me the best form of an Indian Swaraj would be a development on these lines. And this development is only possible so long as we retain our connection with the British Empire. No purely Indian hegemony is suitable for a congeries of decadent and disunited Asiatic States.

The Government of India Act of 1919 is a notable advance towards this federal development and if the provinces progress and pull together in the meantime it will not take India a long time to get to her national goal. On this line must we proceed in the future and on this line only may we attain the only Swaraj which India can think of and retain without much struggle. This ideal will not only mean peace with the British but peace with all our neighbours—a new life reconstructed on love and ahimsa and not on hate and vindictiveness. Co-operation with all non-co-operation with none. Absorption, assimilation and inclusiveness as against the spirit of boycott, non-co-operation, elimination and exclusiveness—that would be the nearest approach not only to the ancient Indian ideal but also to the future world-internationalism. In that ideal only not only India but all nations of the world in the future will find their destiny.

It is difficult to understand Mr. Gandhi's mentality, for he thinks that India can only live up to her culture and make peace and friends with the Englishman and the Western people through the practice of non-co-operation.

In a recent article in *Young India* Mr Gandhi elaborates the proposition in the following quaint manner

"I consider it to be one of the gentlest practices of ethical conduct. It and it alone can pave the way for a genuine understanding between Englishmen and Indians, it and it alone can promote if anything can real friendship between the East and the West. It and it alone can enable India to realize the full height of her own unique culture. In spite of many appearances to the contrary I see the day coming when Englishmen and Indians will come to regard one another as friends and fellow workers."

I have never been a close student of philosophy in all my life and therefore it is not within my competence to interpret philosophical paradoxes. In this bad and mad world of ours sometimes good may come out of evil but I have never known of crises when peace and love, amity and concord, have logically followed or suddenly developed out of acute differences and conflicts. However in my scheme of the future development of the Indian Constitution, there is no room for miracles and paradoxes and none of my readers need have any misgivings or any doubt as to why I consider co-operation as the sovereign remedy of our present national distemper and how I look forward to it as the solvent of our future destiny.

In the above pages I have tried to establish that the idea of Swaraj without the British is chimerical moonshine and that India can only work out her salvation under the ægis of the British Crown, and that not through non-co-operation but through co-operation alone can she restore her ancient culture and work out her future destiny. I have also discussed at length the kind of government which could satisfy the pride, patriotism and self-respect of India and this brings me to the very important question of the chances of a federal union realizing the ideal of an all India national Swaraj. The question has indeed many facets and no man can discuss them adequately within the purview of a short article. It may be quite possible that a federal ideal may be antagonistic for a short time to a united national ideal but with a country so vast and so illimitable as India it is not possible for one single government to bring into line the development of so many different provinces and areas with such a heterogeneous medley of race, creed and speech. No human government can think of bringing so many different elements of culture and civilization—from the highly intellectual Brahmin to the semi-nude hillmen of the Garo Hills and Nilgris—to a uniform standard of life and administra-

tion merely at its bidding and so long as there are such acute differences between man and man as there exist in India, the country has to be divided into convenient administrative and ethnic units. The present provincial boundaries may be arbitrary and may have to be altered, and the progress of all these units directed to a common purpose.

In spite of the lack of an administrative homogeneity or uniformity which a federal scheme of government may tend to develop, India cannot think of any other scheme of national development which will meet the political aspirations of her people. No revolutionary or constitutional short cuts will take all her peoples together to a common goal at a given time. Whether we like it or not we have no other alternative. So the ideal of an Indian "Swaraj" must after all resolve itself into so many different Provincial 'Swarajes' with 'self determination' as their motto if you like but certainly under a sovereign overlord. A united Indian Swaraj does not come into practical politics at least for some time to come. At the same time it must not be overlooked that if we have a dominating Central Government, directing the affairs of the provinces to a common purpose and if we have common speech laws and ideals if a community of interest and a high general standard of patriotism is maintained in the press and the platform throughout the country if interprovincial communications will always remain easy and if no tariffs are raised by province against province—then perhaps the federal idea will not in the long run antagonize the ideal of a national 'Swaraj'.

Here again as in many other matters we must know our limitations and take facts as they are. Providence has not given India a clean slate to write her destiny. We must not ignore the fact that we are a congeries of different peoples thrown together in a huge continent almost as large as Europe without Russia. Even in the United Kingdom with all its apparent homogeneity of people and a common basis of speech blood and religion, a movement has been started to have a federal system of commonwealth with Scotland England and Wales as so many different self governing units. I will not mention the case of Ireland for by the time this article appears in print she may possibly be making a final bid for separation from the Empire. The South African Union Canada, and Australia are also very much built up on the federal idea so also are the constitutions of Germany and the United States. The poet's dream

of the ' Federation of Man ' is after all no Utopia and stands a great chance of materialization at no distant future through the willing federation of all individual countries, states, and nations of the world. India has therefore no reason to turn her back upon that ideal as ultimately the only way to push the progress of the human race is for nations to enter into a federation with each other. That way lies the salvation of mankind.

I will now conclude. I fully realize the fact that the status of Dominion Home Rule or our connection with England may not be the last word on the subject of our future government. British rule may be credited with many of the evils of our present day life—our lost arts and industries, the replacement of our stable and metallic coins by a fickle and unsteady paper currency, our high prices and general indigence, our enfeebled physique and incapacity to resist the germs of plague, cholera, malaria and hook worm, the abandonment of a life of plain living and high thinking, the growing habit of living beyond means and the new struggle to keep up an exaggerated standard of appearances, our intellectual dead level, our revolting ideas of private, public and commercial morality, our Penal Code, Evidence Act and lawyer government, and our divorce from the realities of an old world life—but no one will deny that working in so many different ways, and with such steadfast pertinacity it has turned a chaos into a nation and awakened in Indian mankind the faculty of reasoning which had lain dormant since the days of Gautama Buddha—dispelled the darkness, ignorance and superstition of centuries and relaxed the galling conditions of domestic and social tyranny that had from the days of Manu onwards ground our manhood, taught us the inestimable blessings of liberty, freedom and social and political equality, emancipated our womenfolk and untouchable classes beyond recognition, like Prometheus unbound, turned vast arid tracts into fertile soil waving with golden harvest and has above everything brought us into line with other civilized nations of the earth, through the magic influence of a press, platform and common laws and speech, and the widespread currency of common thoughts and aspirations, given effect to by cheap postage, the ubiquitous telegraphic wire and forty thousand miles of railways made possible by British capital and British enterprise. Whatever the character of the British Government be, and whatever evils it may have wrought in India, it would be satanic to snap our connection with it after all that it

has done to make a nation of us and to get us out of the rut of a medieval world to place us in the position of a well-developed modern State

And this must be recognized that if we keep our link with the British Empire, we are bound to march forward along with its future development. It is impossible to dip into a remote future and cast a long horoscope of India's political destiny. But so far as my vision goes I cannot think of a brighter a more assured and a more cheerful prospect for my Motherland than for her to march along with the other parts of the British Empire shoulder to shoulder to take her place in the sun

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THOUGHTS ON THE INDO AMERICAN SITUATION

By RUSTOM RUSTOMJEE

To understand clearly the Indo-American situation in all its ramifications one must bear in mind two or three fundamental facts about America and Americans. America is not a country but a congeries of States and communities which compose that mighty republic with different climates different traditions and different degrees of civilization. The Americans are not a nation, but a combination of nations. The people of the New England States are as different from those of the middle western States as the people of England are different from those of Spain. The people inhabiting the eastern States are diametrically different from those that live on the Pacific slope. Taking the whole population of America for our purpose they can be roughly divided into three chief sections. The much travelled, thoughtful cultured people sprung from the loins of Great Britain, and with a stake in the country are anxious to cultivate amicable relations with the British. They appreciate the civilizing work carried on by what they call the 'Mother Country' in all parts of this earth and they realize fully the difficulties that at the present time confront Great Britain in the administration of her far-flung colonies dependencies and protectorates. On the other extreme stand the hyphenated masses of unassimilated Americans composed of people of Irish descent who are more Irish than American and of German descent, who love Germany more than America, except those who had migrated to the United States before the Franco-German war. These people are out-and-out anti-British in their sentiments and hostile to the progress and

stability of the British Empire During the war they left no stone unturned to keep America out of the great crusade against German military autocracy and at the present time are doing their very best not only to drive a wedge between the two great sections of the English-speaking people—I mean those of the United States of America and of the British Empire—but are aiding and abetting those who are seeking to disrupt the commonwealth of British nations called the British Empire and to aggravate and complicate the British situation and British problems in all quarters of the globe

Midway between these two great sections are the teeming masses of men and women of foreign descent who are intensely parochial in their sentiments and outlook and care nothing for what is going on outside their narrow sphere of life and activity But even these people I regret to say are beginning to be affected by the virus of anti British propaganda that has been so strenuously and extensively carried on all over the United States of America

After much travelling and a prolonged stay in the United States of America I have come to the conclusion that the headquarters of the arch conspirators against Great Britain are the United States of America located in such cities as New York Boston Chicago and San Francisco and the poisonous and mischievous work has not left even the great Dominion of Canada untouched and unaffected About two years ago it was my painful duty to attend a meeting called for the purpose of inaugurating a league of oppressed nationalities I naturally supposed that there would be representatives of the coloured people of America of the Philippine Islands of Algeria and Morocco of the Dutch East Indies, together with of course representatives from the so called oppressed of Ireland, Egypt and India But what did I find at the meeting? It was composed mostly of American Bolshevists and Irish-American Sinn Feiners and among the speakers were an Irish-American

a Russian, an Italian, an Indian, a Persian an Egyptian, a Chinese and a Japanese, and the burden of their song was the oppression of Great Britain in their respective countries and when the chairman declared the proclamation of a general strike in Great Britain, men and women, numbering more than four thousand cheered the statement that the British Empire was at an end with such enthusiasm and unanimity as I had never witnessed at any other meeting and when the names of Lenin and Trotsky were mentioned the applause was so vociferous and clamorous that I thought the roof of the Lexington Opera House, where the meeting was held, had come down But I see the dawn of a better day The United States of America has at the present time at the helm of foreign affairs a man of unimpeachable integrity sound common sense, wide experience, and consummate statesmanship—I refer of course to Mr Charles Evans Hughes He understands the meaning of the anti British propaganda carried on in the United States of America He appreciates Great Britain's difficulties in all parts of the world he realizes the importance of keeping intact the British Empire as a great bulwark of Western civilization, and I feel certain that he will not do anything that would lend encouragement to the anti British agitators in America he would do nothing to aggravate Great Britain's situation in Asia and Africa but he will help her in her high ambition till the cause of justice and democracy covers the surface of the globe as the waters cover the seas

Now a few words about the character and position of anti British agitators from India who are carrying on an intensive and extensive propaganda throughout the United States of America Everything that malevolence could invent and vituperation express has been resorted to by these Indian agitators to blacken the fair name of the British administrators of my country The amazing indiscretions committed by two or three British officials in the Punjab in the spring of 1919 have been magnified into

British atrocities and represented to the people of America as the methods of government carried on by the British rulers of India. The British-Indian Government is represented as a military autocracy equal to, if not worse than, the military autocracy that prevailed in the now defunct German Empire. India is represented as being kept under the heel of Great Britain by the maintenance of enormous British armies and it is described as a country devastated by continuous famines, ravaged and pillaged by the exploiting Britons in the country.

The second fundamental fact that must be borne in mind is that up to the year 1914 the people of America knew little and cared less, for India, their ignorance about the history of India, both before and after the establishment of British power in the country of the habits and customs of the teeming millions of Indians was profound, their sole knowledge was derived by the stories circulated and pictures presented by American missionaries of the people steeped in ignorance and superstition ravaged by disease and starved to death by famines. But the splendid response of India to the call of Great Britain in the day of her distress their willingness to sacrifice their all to maintain the British Empire have done much to draw the attention of the American people to their cousins possessions in the Far East. Taking advantage of the desire to know more about India the anti British elements gathered together their forces to misrepresent Great Britain's work in the country and many an Indian was led to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage of German gold. Small groups of Indians were formed all over the United States of America to help the German agents in their propaganda in order to create bad blood against Great Britain, and to foster sentiments of friendship towards Germany and up to the advent of America in the struggle against the militarism of Germany these Indian revolutionaries were allowed to carry on their nefarious work without let or hindrance, but as soon as America threw down the gauntlet on the side of the Allies strong measures were taken to checkmate the anti British

propaganda and to round up pro-German Indian revolutionaries. A large number of Indians were tried by American judges before American juries, and were found guilty of breaking the laws of the Republic. They were incarcerated in American prisons and earmarked for deportation, but after the Armistice they were let loose all over the country, and it is these men who are carrying on the nefarious work I have above described. I have deplored that a flabby sentimentalism should have got the better of sound reasoning and judicial decisions.

At the present moment the people of America are mainly interested in two of the movements now prevailing in India: the caste co-operation movement and the movement inaugurated by Mr. Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, to prepare the various peoples of India to enjoy the full fruition of responsible government. The non-co-operation movement is of course hailed by the anti-British sections of the American people as the first step taken by India in the disruption of the Indian Empire. The anti-British section of the American Press has published hundreds of articles giving glowing accounts of the progress of Ghandi's non-co-operation movement. It is represented as the beginning of the end of the British rule in India all over the States. False reports of the renunciation of titles and honorary posts by more than 300,000 Indians, of legal practice of more than 35,000 Indian lawyers, the emptying of British schools and universities in my country, have been assiduously circulated.¹ When these Indian writers were taken to task for disseminating lies about the progress of the movement, they unblushingly declared that their object was to draw the attention of the American people to India, truth or no truth.

When the movement was first started, even those Americans who were friendly to Great Britain seemed to appreciate Mr. Ghandi's motives and approve of his methods of non-violent non-co-operation, but they are beginning to see through the whole movement, they are beginning to realize that though the movement was origin-

ally started against British rule in India, it has assumed the form of a cleverly devised conspiracy against the progress of Western civilization. Ghandi's declarations that Western education had produced slave mentality amongst the Indian peoples and his appeals to Indians to turn their back upon everything that was Western and to renounce the study of such sciences as geography, history, and chemistry, and his statements that hospitals and railways are breeders of sin have filled the minds of thoughtful Americans with feelings of disgust, if not of contempt.

As for Mr. Montagu's reforms the anti-British elements have left no stone unturned to represent them as being a sham and a fraud unworthy of Great Britain to give and India to receive, but the thoughtful sections of the American people are watching the new Constitution of India with the keenest interest. Men like ex-President William H. Taft have not hesitated to declare it as a piece of consummate statesmanship. The manner in which the reforms have been worked in India, the splendid co-operation between non-official and official members of Indian legislatures, the keen anxiety manifested by high British officials to do even a little wrong to themselves that the greatest good to the greatest number of the people of India may accrue by official self-abnegation and the superb loyalty with which the rank and file of the British civil servants have worked to make the reforms a success, have produced a splendid impression among the thinking sections of the American people.

The appointment of one of England's wisest and noblest sons as the Viceroy of India has deepened that favourable impression. For Lord Reading has left in America a name second only to that of Lord Bryce, and the American people have not hesitated to declare that if the educated people of India refuse to note the advice, guidance, and sympathy Lord Reading has proffered, they are not worthy to enjoy the high destiny which the King in Parliament has declared to be their portion.

AN INTERVIEW WITH KING FAISAL OF IRAQ

BY CAPTAIN A H ROBERTS

(Late Political Officer in Iraq)

WHEN the Amir Faisal son of King Hussain of Hedjaz arrived in Basrah as the accredited candidate for the rulership of Mesopotamia there was not much enthusiasm felt there for his cause. Even before Turkey entered the war Basrah people considered that the progress of their wilayit (province) was retarded by its connection with the central government and there was a movement on foot to break away from the rest of the Iraq and form it into a separate state under a ruler chosen from among the leading local Arab families.

The Turkish Government became aware of the plot and sent one of their best administrators to Basrah to investigate. Their agent met his death by assassination just when he had succeeded in his search and had the proofs in his hands.

The spirit of Basrah is the same to day and it will take much of the tact and charm that King Faisal admittedly possesses and some years of equitable government to reconcile its inhabitants to their new lot.

Basrah people have benefited to a much greater degree than the rest of the Iraq from our occupation of the country and they consider—rightly or wrongly remains to be seen—that they would be better off as a separate state under British protection than as a part of the new Iraq Government.

The above is intended to show one of the obstacles the Amir has to overcome in his endeavour to set up a new State. It is characteristic of the Amir that in spite of that feeling he made friends wherever he went in Basrah and created a good impression in the community by his frank and open manner and well chosen speech. He met with the same success in the Shia strongholds of Nejjf and Kerbela which he visited on his way to Baghdad.

The Amir should have arrived in Baghdad at 7 a.m. on June 29 but a breakdown on the line delayed the train. There is a story connected with the accident that is worth

relating here as an instance of the mentality of the present-day Baghdadis. The breakdown itself was simple enough. A violent sandstorm had taken place the day before and completely blocked the line thirty miles south of Baghdad at a place named Khan Aswad. The station master wired to Baghdad for assistance. The telegraph messenger in delivering the copies of the telegram to the officials concerned left that of the executive engineer to the last and before delivering it, paid a visit to the servant of another official. He there got into trouble, was arrested by the police, and taken to the lock up. He forgot to mention that he had the undelivered telegram in his pocket and it was overlooked by the police, with the result that no assistance was sent to clear the line in time and the Amir and his suite were obliged to spend a hot summer's day in a stuffy railway carriage.

Baghdad West station is situated as its name indicates, on the western side. It is about a thousand yards from the town and river near the terminus of the Baghdad line built by the Germans. The Amir arrived there at 6 p.m. apparently none the worse for his adventure. He was met at the station by H.E. the High Commissioner Sir Percy Cox, the Commander in Chief General Haldane, a number of Government officials and all the leading notables of Baghdad. A guard of honour of the Royal Berkshire Regiment was drawn up on the platform. The road leading to the station was lined with Arab Mounted Levies and Boy Scouts.

King Faisal has been busy from the moment he arrived in the Iraq preparing the minds of the many different communities to accept him as their king. It has been no easy task for he was unknown to the people who for the most part resented having thrust upon them a son of the King of Mecca to whom they owed no allegiance.

He received me as usual very cordially and on learning that I was leaving Baghdad for home entered at once into the object of my visit which was to obtain his views on the situation of the country and his plans for its future under his rule.

King Faisal was dressed in the picturesque robes and headdress of his countrymen. In stature he is well above the average and slim in build. He has a long face, prominent nose, greyish eyes, and a small well-trimmed brown beard. He is endowed with extraordinary personal charm and his earnest manner and quick alert gestures impress one favourably. He is an early riser, and, like

most Orientals gets through the important work of the day during the cool hours of the morning. It speaks well for his character that he has been able to put aside the traditional evasiveness of his race, and acquired a European sense of the value of prompt action and punctuality. He came to the point without any preamble. We spoke in Arabic.

The Amir started by recounting his impressions of the country as he found it. I put them in his own words. 'I am profoundly disappointed in my expectations as to the state of the country especially in regard to agricultural progress, education, and construction both public and private. I was surprised to find that no progress had been made in agriculture since the Arab invasion, and that the magnificent irrigation works that then existed had disappeared leaving hardly a trace of their former greatness.

I had no idea that the mass of the population was illiterate to such an extent that it was difficult to find enough suitable men to occupy the subordinate posts in Government offices and that men of technical ability were practically non-existent.

I was not prepared to find that the whole of the Iraq to-day could not boast of a single public building or construction of Arab design and make and that the descendants of the Persians and others who had made the buildings that were once the glory of ancient Baghdad had lost the cunning of their forefathers through lack of encouragement and demand upon their rich resources of talent.

I foresee that much money and labour is required to repair the waste of energy and material of those lost centuries. I hope to establish a firm government under the tutelage of the British nation to which I look as a child to its mother. I fully realize that without British aid it will be impossible for the Iraq to make even the first step towards regeneration. If that assistance is withheld the country will inevitably fall a prey to internal dissensions and Baghdad and Basrah, as well as the smaller provincial towns will again have to throw up fortifications to protect them from marauding tribes. I am of opinion that without help from some Power strong enough to protect us from outside enemies and to aid us financially the Iraq must inevitably fall into a state lower than any that has yet befallen it in the whole of its chequered history. But I feel assured of your support which will suffice to keep out exterior enemies. I am confident in our ability to raise a

local army, sufficient in strength and quality to compel unruly tribesmen to respect the Central Government and anticipate no serious trouble from that quarter. Once an Arab government, holding the confidence of the country is firmly established, industry and commerce will revive. There is much money in the country, especially in Baghdad and Basrah. Hundreds of local tradesmen who now hide their money will put it into circulation once the future of the country is guaranteed.

With regard to improvements in education I think we can do no better than follow the course laid down by you, which has already produced such good effects.

"In order to advance agriculture, irrigation schemes on a very large scale necessitating a considerable outlay of money are necessary. I am confident of being able to procure money for that purpose and make an early start with some of the excellent projects already planned.

"The development of construction is dependent upon the material prosperity of the country. It can be greatly accelerated by the cheapening of building material, and with that in view it is intended to hasten the construction of the railway line already mapped out from Baghdad to the Mediterranean Sea. I place this railway in the first line of our projects for restoring the Iraq to its former greatness. Pending completion of the railway we mean to have a road constructed along the route of the proposed line and open up communications at once with the sea by means of motor transport. There are certain difficulties to be met with such as water provision and the security of the road from Beduin raiders but we do not consider them to be in any way insurmountable. We shall find means to bring the Beduin tribes of the desert to understand that their co operation in such a scheme will be of benefit to them.

Referring to criticisms that had lately appeared in the French Press, the Amir authorized me to state that his policy is to work in complete harmony with French interests wherever they affect him that he is and always has been, a friend of France. It grieves him to see that he is misunderstood, but he is determined that whatever happens nothing shall ever make him commit an act of violence against that great nation.

The Amir was proclaimed King on August 23 with the almost unanimous approval of the nation. Although he would never have been elected without our support it is only fair to say that he has scored a great personal success,

and has already gone a long way towards convincing the nation that he is worthy of its confidence. A marked change has already been produced in Basrah by the public speeches made by King Faisal in Baghdad soon after his arrival there. His utterances were characterized by a spirit of liberality, breadth of view and religious tolerance that was particularly pleasing to the people of that town. For there is no town in the whole East where religious differences are so little in evidence as Basrah. There Christians, Jews and Mohammedans fraternize together freely in the business, public and social life of the town, and all sects take an equal part in the administration of it. All the business-men of the city, without distinction of class or religion congregate together in the great central square every evening at sundown to drink coffee and discuss the affairs of the day, and the dominant note is an intense local patriotism.

The King's speeches show him to be animated with an ardent and sincere desire to restore the Iraq to its former glory. He appealed to all classes of the community to sink their differences of race and religion and think of themselves as Iraqis first. He asked them all to join with him in working for the welfare of the new state. He promised that the future government should be democratic in every sense of the word and that hard work and ability would be the only roads to recognition and advancement. He said that having thrown off the yoke of the oppressor, all the people of the Iraq were now anxious to see their country independent and free to work out their national ideals. He promised them complete independence, security and perfect freedom and to every community, however small, full encouragement and help to develop on its own lines provided they coincided with the welfare of the Iraq as a nation.

In a speech he delivered at the Chaldean Church Baghdad, he asked for the confidence of that community in the following words, which are quoted from the *Times of Mesopotamia* of August 5 1921. Allow me to say this. For 700 years the Iraq has been under foreign rule changing from one despotism to another, until it has reached its present condition. For every 200 years of past misrule give me one year come to me at the end of four years and I will give you an account of my stewardship. These were strong words, but I firmly believe that if he lives he is capable of carrying them out provided the British Government stands firm as his supporter.

For it must be understood that neither Faisal nor any candidate would stand a chance of being nominated King of Iraq without our support

What we should now avoid at all costs is a further change of policy. The Arab cannot by nature think in the abstract, he is a child in that respect and people who have dealings with him must be mindful of that fact if they wish to gain his confidence. Speeches and promises do not move him. He bases his judgment purely upon acts. We have now an opportunity of regaining his lost confidence in us. We had the complete confidence of the Arabs of Mesopotamia up to the date of the Armistice. If we had then done what we are now doing that is, set up a government in accordance with our declared principle of self-determination compatible with the economical condition of the country and giving full play to national aspirations, there would perhaps not have been a revolution in Iraq.

We alienated the Arabs of the river area by not giving to those Iraqians who were qualified by past experience and entitled by the positions they had held in the former administration of the country to hold important posts a place in our administration, and in many cases raising men who had held inferior posts or none in the Turkish Administration to positions of confidence and trust.

The excuse put forward that we did not know what the future state of the country was to be, that we had to wait for the verdict of the Peace Conference before we could set up a local government of any form, was untenable from their point of view because they considered that there was much more justification for putting up a provisional government in the form of a Council made up of representatives of the people than there was for setting up an expensive administration on a financial scale that the country could not support.

There were many men in Mesopotamia who had held important offices under the Turkish Administration and were well fitted and disposed to work under us. These men saw their places being filled by an ever-increasing number of young officers, among whom were men who although picked out for their good qualities, lacked administrative experience, knowledge of the language, people, and country. It was inevitable that such officers, through inexperience, should be at the mercy of sycophants who made it impossible for honest men to get a hearing, with the result that free expression of opinion through proper channels was, in their districts almost entirely suppressed.

When the revolution broke out there were no Arabs in the administration occupying positions that would qualify them to proffer advice. It was the men who might have occupied such positions who fomented the troubles and eventually brought about the revolution which cost us such an enormous amount in lives, money, and prestige.

The wells of speech lie deep down in the heart. Sympathy alone will attract confidence. You cannot know a people until you know that people's language. To learn it is to acquire a new soul for it is to see all things from a different view point, and the more different the language the more different the point of view.

All our administrators should always remember the above in their dealings with eastern races. The Arab in particular is quick to respond to sympathy and confidence especially from Englishmen in whom he has learnt to trust. On the other hand he is quick to recognize the man who is out to outwit him and will either retire completely or use flattery and deceit to gain his ends according to his individual temperament. That is the type of man we have to deal with in Mesopotamia. It will take much to regain his trust in us but it can be done by supporting the present Iraq State as we have promised.

None is better fitted to represent us in Mesopotamia than the present High Commissioner who as far as he is himself concerned has the entire confidence of every man in that country. Kaks as the Arabs call him, is known and revered in every household.

THE NEW FRENCH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT BILL

BY ROGER DE BELLEVAL

ON April 12, 1921, M. Albert Sarraut Minister for the Colonies presented to the Chamber of Deputies the draft of a Bill to establish a general programme of policy for the French Colonies. This project has entailed considerable labour. It lays down the essential principles of French Colonial policy, establishes a precise and detailed inventory of the resources of France beyond the seas and outlines the measures which it is proposed to adopt and the works which it is necessary to undertake in order to mobilize the resources of the French Colonies. The preamble of the Bill which sets out the motives of the project is of very great importance because it constitutes as it were a Magna Charta for the French Colonies and defines in a clear and precise manner the policy which France intends to follow with regard to her overseas possessions. After the period of conquest, it declares there follows the period of development for the occupied regions. "The hour has come when it has become necessary to substitute a general and precise policy for ill-defined and isolated measures." There has been enough of uncertainty and confusion in the process of developing the French Colonies. It is expedient to day that we should unravel the tangled skein of complicated principles and set up a programme which will serve as a guide and direction for future development. This is an important duty for France, and paradoxical though it may seem victorious France of to day must now make an effort by no means less vigorous than that undertaken by the defeated France

of 1870 the situation she has to face is the same, except that she has to mourn even more of her dead reconstruct more ruins and shoulder a financial burden still more crushing. However the picture has also a brighter side to it. Whereas fifty years ago "France was only able to re-establish herself from her own resources she finds to-day all her young and active Colonies affectionately pressing around her eager to help her in her effort.

The Colonies have for a long time been considered a costly fantasy which was at the best a hobby for a great nation. This legend persisted until the outbreak of the Great War. Now however even the most obstinate must open their eyes to facts that speak for themselves. 835 000 French subjects crossed the seas to defend the Mother Country the subscriptions from the possessions under the control of the Minister of the Colonies surpassed 600 000,000 francs. To this must be added the very numerous subscriptions contributed on behalf of war charities. Lastly, in spite of submarines 2,500 000 tons of material were transported to France by her Colonies during the period of hostilities.

This help which no one in his wildest dreams would have thought possible might have been still greater if the riches which remain undeveloped in Indo China, Africa, Madagascar and the French Islands of the Pacific had been exploited in a business like manner. Now however France has determined to give more attention to her Colonial domains and place them in a position in which they can co-operate effectively in repairing the damage and the losses of the Mother Country.

The development of her Colonies is perhaps the most important task for France apart from the German danger. As M. Sarraut points out. Whilst great undertakings in the Mother Country can only contribute towards the *increase* of production the development of the Colonies would lead to the *creation* of production by introducing riches which have not been as yet exploited, but are

available as soon as they are made accessible. In fact, with a smaller financial effort far greater economic results can be achieved in the Colonies than in the Mother Country, for it is less difficult to obtain supplies from fresh fields than to increase production where cultivation is already intensive.

But M. Albert Sarraut is not only animated by a desire which every landowner should feel in developing his estates. He also feels that hand in hand with the economic development of the French Colonies must be sought the social development of their inhabitants. Thus he is not only proposing a plan for economic development, but 'a general mobilization of resources in which material benefits are closely allied with moral, political, intellectual, and social improvement'. In this manner he rejects the ancient policy of the 'Colonial pact' by which the Mother Country was able to exploit her Colonies without reference to whether they were being exhausted, prohibited every local effort which had for its object the manufacture of raw materials and considered the indigenous inhabitants only as labour for harvesting these products. M. Sarraut raises the old conception of mercantile exploitation to the high aims of human solidarity. 'France must develop her Colonies for her own advantage—that is agreed—but also for the benefit of the world at large. If these territories and their resources cannot be developed by the indigenous population without assistance, the profit from them would be lost to the natives themselves, as well as to humanity in general. The French protectorate has the task of increasing not only material wealth, but also, and above all, the wealth of human intelligence, the moral and social talents of the races under her charge.

By this definition Colonial expansion is no longer based on the 'right of the stronger,' but on the 'right of the stronger to help his weaker brother.' Thereby M. Albert Sarraut keeps within the true traditions of French Colonial policy introduced by Champlain, Montcalm, Duplex, and

in more recent times by Francis Garnier and Paul Bert in Indo-China, de Brazza in the Congo and de Gallieni in Madagascar, not to mention administrators who are still among the living. France cannot do otherwise than undertake this civilizing mission. In the first place it has become a moral necessity on account of the proclamation that has been made to the effect that Germany is unfitted to possess colonies. Moreover, France's own security demands it. M. Le Myre de Villers said in 1901: 'The defence of the Colonies must be regarded far more a question of administration and policy towards the inhabitants than a military problem. The French people have been encouraged to emigrate and build up their future in distant lands, we must in return guarantee their security, the blessings of peace, the confidence which it is necessary for them to feel in order to enable them to begin their work without fear amid an indigenous population. They must be treated in a just and liberal manner in order to encourage their labour, which is the *sine qua non* of Colonial development. Their labour cannot be efficient unless medical arrangements are well organized and its quality depends on education.

Again, we must have a more extensive system of instruction. By these means the ranks of the indigenous officials can be filled, and at the same time the native chiefs, while remaining at their posts, will be able to fit themselves for their duties. They form an indispensable link in the system for controlling the rank and file. All education must be of a practical character. Its economic utility must always be kept in view. But that consideration ought not to prevent us from 'establishing an upper class among the natives selected by the proof of capacity. They should be granted special facilities to fit themselves for the higher spheres of knowledge and general development. The encouragement of education far from compromising the power of the protecting Mother Country is calculated, on the contrary, to furnish it with a more solid basis. M. Sarraut writes: 'The real truth of the matter, proved up to

the hilt by past experience is that a Government is far more exposed to disorders amongst an ignorant population on which a handful of agitators can exercise an unhappy influence than when it has to deal with a people who, thanks to the instructions they have received are able to distinguish between the propaganda of unreasoning fanatics and the counsels of representatives who are well informed

The French Colonial Minister therefore is planning the development of education and wishes thereby to make the natives eligible for administrative posts. Nevertheless he rejects the policy of assimilation. He declares that general naturalization 'would be a profound error'. The fact is that we must enlarge the actual basis of naturalization and make it our aim to grant to those natives who are not French citizens a large extension of their political rights in their native status. We must realize that the evolution of the indigenous population under the guardianship of France must follow the lines of their own civilization, their own traditions, and their native institutions. These it is our task not to destroy but to improve and develop by the penetration of our own civilization. Consequently what we must do is to increase indigenous representation in such a way that the candidates elected by the natives collaborate smoothly with the French authorities and share with them in the light of native opinion the responsibility of Government.

Such a programme postulates a process of decentralization which furnishes Colonial Government with a wider autonomy and puts an end to what used to be known as government by cable. Fears are entertained in certain quarters that the Colonial Government might abuse the generous extension of power which is to be accorded them. But France has a good safeguard from that danger thanks to the periodical missions of Inspectors of Colonies who are granted powers of thorough investigation, and who thereby give us a reliable guarantee. M. Sarraut goes so far as to consider that Delegations of Senators and

Deputies would be a profitable institution, as they would from time to time traverse all the Colonies in rotation. Thereby all territories would be submitted to the control of the representatives of the nation every two, three, or four years. The power entrusted to Colonial Governments would thus be under supervision and possible excesses would be prevented by the vigilance of the Minister himself, of Parliament, and of Local Assemblies. That power would then, without any danger arising, secure liberty of action to arbitrate upon and solve all the great problems where the interests of France and of her Colonies must needs be happily blended. But the power of initiative must be left with the Governor once the essential lines of France's general policy in her Colonial domain have been satisfactorily laid down.

But is it true to say that these projects of autonomy and this scheme of modern education for the indigenous inhabitants has for its ultimate aim the preparation of independence for the Colonies? If so it may be asked of what use is it to develop countries which must inevitably be lost to us? M. Sarraut finds no embarrassment in replying to these pessimistic reflections. This is what he says. Administrative autonomy for the Colonies no more means secession than regionalism and decentralization in France mean separation. In both cases National Unity remains undisturbed. The indigenous inhabitants know only too well what would happen to them if secession from the Mother Country were to take place. Their incapacity to govern themselves would bring about civil war, and they would fall into the hands of a Power which would perhaps turn out to be far more severe. Let us take a striking example. Without French sovereignty Indo China would cease to exist and become lost in groups of different peoples all more or less hostile to each other.

But let us go so far as to admit that the day will come when the French Colonies will resume their whole independence from the Mother Country. Even then M. Sarraut

declares with emphasis, there is no reason for us to slacken our ardour in the high duties which our protectorate imposes upon us in our relations with these countries. Their future has been entrusted to us. Is it not in itself a glory for France to promote wherever she stands the strength and liberty of other races? It would prove to be no mean advantage for us to have created beyond the seas States where the language, the tradition, the lessons, the memory and the very soul of France live on. Should it be accounted as nothing that the Mother Country has obtained the best results, and forged with her children now grown to manhood durable links of gratitude and common interest together with economic and political relations, which will ensure that France retains her privileged position without having to bear the previous burdens of finance and responsibility.

M. Albert Sarraut has drawn up in definite terms France's general policy towards her Colonies. He has used the experiences of the past to draw up the laws for the present and the future. There is nothing in his programme which can be described as contrary to the traditions of France—traditions which are liberal and dispense liberalism. With a stroke of the pen he banishes moral and economic slavery. The largeness of his political outlook invests him with a special authority to intervene where racial questions play perhaps the most important rôle.

At Washington he is the mouthpiece of France in all that concerns her Colonial policy and particularly is he the spokesman of 18,000,000 inhabitants of Indo China whom he has governed for many years and led in the paths of civilization with safety and confidence. He is an orator but he is also a man of action. There can be no doubt that at the proper moment the words that will fall from his lips will be words of pacification and concord, of which the statesmen there present will stand in great need. Nor will he fail to give to France the role of mediator,

which is so befitting to her for she loves her children equally, be they white or coloured and she will accomplish with loyalty and sincerity the task of civilization which she has undertaken

It is worthy of remark that both England and France at the same time—namely, at the commencement of a war which became “a rising of the peoples (for to such an extent has it galvanized their energies)—should have thought of defining their attitude towards their Colonies which have in both cases given such powerful assistance during the dark hours of the great struggle. The programme of M. Sarraut which draws up the lines of the economic and moral development of the French Colonies finds an English parallel in the Imperial Conference which united the Ministers of the Dominions and the Delegates from India

From this fact we can only draw the conclusion that England and France find themselves face to face with similar problems. They have decided to face them in a determined and loyal spirit rather than by shutting their eyes to them and adopting the ostrich policy. Both Powers have examined the situation in all its complexity and both have found a just solution and one that is in harmony with the high ideals of civilization and equity which these two great friends and Allies so conspicuously share

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE LEPER PROBLEM IN INDIA AND THE TREATMENT OF LEPROSY

By THE REV FRANK OGDRIEVE

THERE *is* a leper problem in India to day That is the first point to be stressed and appreciated

Leprosy is a very old disease in the world, and all peoples have had a special horror of it It is a chronic disease produced by a specific germ known as the *Bacillus lepræ* and it attacks both sexes old and young often producing loss of fingers and toes in some cases a particularly disfiguring change of the features as well as other signs and symptoms

It is contagious—that is it is passed on directly or indirectly by an infected to an uninfected person Whether there is an intermediary carrier we do not yet know, but it is almost universally admitted that it is contagious This fact has been most clearly recognized by the following Conferences

- 1 The Berlin Conference of Leprologists (1897)
- 2 The Bergen Conference of Leprologists (1909)
- 3 The Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine (1910)
- 4 A French Commission of the Academy of Medicine (1914)
- 5 The Calcutta Conference of Leper Asylum Superintendents and Others (1920)

The disease has never been known to start *de novo* in any country There has always been some sort of association with a leper before the disease is contracted In the Philippines this was proved by Dr Denny in 29 per cent

of 10,000 cases examined and in the Hawaiian Islands Dr McCoy obtained admissions of association with other lepers in 37 per cent of 1 060 cases although there was a strong tendency to deny it for fear of their relatives being segregated

Lepers are found in all parts of the Indian Empire No one has travelled far in India without seeing lepers begging in public They are seen—these poor miserable sufferers—creeping along the roads, lying by the wayside gathering outside the temples, exposing their hideous sores and disfigurements and begging for their food They hobble along on crutches, they creep on their hands and knees the blind among them are led—piteous sights that should move the hearts of all

In all parts of the land one sees them—in the hills by the sea on the plains In all climates they live in the cold as well as in the heat Among all classes they are found a ruling Rija being a leper, rich as well as poor are afflicted educated as well as uneducated Young as well as old are cursed Most of the lepers found in India are, of course Indians but there are quite a number of Anglo-Indians and some Europeans who have been smitten with this terrible scourge

This however must be said—that on the whole it is a disease that is found among the poorer classes and that it spreads most rapidly where there are unsanitary conditions and where the people are not properly fed Thousands of lepers in India can do nothing but beg and they herd together in the large cities, where it is most easy to obtain money About two years ago a census of lepers was taken in Calcutta and it was found that there were then about 1,200 lepers living in the city There were two large and several smaller colonies of them right in the middle of the most densely populated part of the Indian portion of the city In some cases lepers engage in all kinds of work, handling food and clothing which is afterwards used by healthy people

One of the saddest things connected with this problem is the fact that there are so many children lepers. In the asylums in India connected with the Mission to Lepers there are to day about 250 children lepers, and wherever lepers congregate in numbers these poor stricken children may be seen. Pitiful sights, little blighted lives! Now it is an accepted fact that *leprosy is not hereditary* and these children need not have been lepers. They have become so because they have been allowed to live with leper parents or leper relatives. Had they been removed in early childhood from contact with lepers they might have grown up quite as healthy as ordinary Indian children.

Sir Leonard Rogers recently wrote. In studying the statistics of leprosy I have been struck by the exceptional frequency of the development of the disease in the second decade of life indicating an especial susceptibility to the disease at that period. After quoting figures taken from the records of the Molokai Leper Settlement he says

We conclude that nearly all the lepers apprehended up to the age of thirty were actually infected before they completed their twentieth year. These amount to 65 per cent, or practically two-thirds of the whole. Thus I arrive at the conclusion that children and young adults are specially susceptible to the disease and ought therefore to be especially guarded against exposure to infection.

This however I much regret to have to say, is not done at all and healthy children are almost everywhere allowed to live with their leper parents or relatives without anyone being able to hinder it. This fact must be borne in mind when we are considering the leper problem.

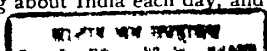
The following are the figures for India taken from the 1911 census, but officials and Indians who are competent to express an opinion believe that these figures are probably at least 50 per cent below the actual number of lepers in the country. Some, indeed have told me that they possibly represent half the actual number of lepers.

Province etc	Number of Lepers (1911 Census)	Number of Lepers per 100 000 of Population
Bengal	17 485	75
Bihar and Orissa	16 935	94
Madras	16 648	82
United Provinces	14 500	59
Bombay	10 303	75
Central Provinces	7 307	91
Burma	7 058	116
Assam	4 372	122
Punjab	3 091	25
Central Indian Agency	1 288	28
Baroda State	445	43
Hyderabad State	3 758	56
Travancore State	—	65
Cochin State	—	101
Kashmir State	1 352	85
Mysore State	767	26
North West Frontier Province	282	—
Etcetera	3 523	—
Grand total	109 094	—

Try and imagine what this means! About 200 000 lepers!

Suppose we could marshal all the lepers in India in a procession and make them pass before us? What a sight it would be!

We will let them pass at the rate of twelve a minute. On they would come, old and young rich and poor, all types of people from all parts of India a sorrowing suffering long long line of the sick. We would sit and watch them pass from sunrise to sunset, twelve hours a day and day after day we should have to sit. How many days would it take for the procession to pass? About twenty-one days at twelve hours a day and twelve lepers hobbling crawling along every minute. What tragedy would be represented what pathos! The sight if it were possible to view such a procession would be the most moving that human eye has ever looked upon. But although these poor people can never be seen thus do not forget that all the same they *are* moving about India each day, and those



who are in health, and those who are in authority are in some way responsible for their needs being met. And of all those who would pass before us only one in every twenty would come from an asylum or home.

IS LEPROSY SPREADING IN INDIA?

This is a matter in which it is most difficult to obtain reliable information. When the figures of the recent census are available we shall definitely know. I have myself, however, known several places in India where there was accurate information obtainable which proved that during the last ten years the number of lepers had considerably increased, and that not by an influx of lepers from other places but where the healthy people had developed the disease in their own village, there having been in every case 1 leper or lepers from whom they had taken it.

That this is only too possible has been proved by sad experience in other lands. In the Sandwich Islands leprosy was noted for the first time among the aborigines in 1859. Soon after its presence was recognized the disease spread so rapidly that by the year 1865 there were 230 known lepers in a population of 67,000. By 1891 the native population from various causes had diminished to 44,432 and of these 1,500 were lepers—1 in 30.

In New Caledonia leprosy was unknown till 1865. It is supposed to have been introduced by a Chinaman and the manner is well known. Its rapid diffusion throughout the island can be and has been traced step by step. In 1888 lepers numbered 4,000.

In the Loyalty Islands the first case was seen in 1882 and in 1888, in the Island of Mare alone there were 70 lepers.

Mr J. Vas, I.C.S. Collector of Bankura, Bengal reported to the Calcutta Conference last year as follows:

At the census of 1911 the incidence of leprosy in the district was found to be 23 in 10,000—that is the number of lepers was 2,617. The district was

visited last year by a severe famine, and relief operations on an extensive scale were undertaken. It was found that a large proportion of those who had to be relieved gratuitously were lepers and in a census taken by my relief officers as many as 4 698 were enumerated. This estimate errs if at all on the side of under-estimate. But if this figure is accepted there has been an increase of 75 per cent. in nine years.

I would not like to hazard an opinion as to whether leprosy has spread taking India as a whole but it certainly has done so in some small areas. It is prevalent possibly spreading, in India, and seeing that it is such a particularly loathsome disease as much as possible should be done to stamp it out.

THE PROBLEM TO BE FACED

The real problem is how to rid India of leprosy if that can possibly be done. Everyone wishes to see the peoples of India healthy and strong, and able to take up the burdens which will be laid on their shoulders as they face the governing of their own land and therefore every effort should be made to get rid of such sicknesses as trouble the people. Can India be freed from the grip of leprosy?

In seeking to answer this question one remembers that when the Roman Empire was at the height of its power leprosy spread to Europe that it was present throughout Spain and France when the Moors swept up from the South and it had become a common and familiar affliction in England even before the Norman Conquest. During the Middle Ages no country escaped the disease. With plague and smallpox it constituted the most fearful scourge of mediæval times, until rulers and clergy became alarmed at its rapid extension and terrible ravages and instituted measures for its control. So widely spread was the infection that every considerable town had its institution or hospital in which the victims were segregated. In England the first of these was erected at Canterbury in 1006, and

throughout Europe there were probably 20,000 leprosaria. In Great Britain there were some 112, and more than 2,000 in France. The repressive measures were highly successful, and leprosy was practically stamped out of the progressive European countries.

Of course it must also be borne in mind that as time passed the general conditions of living were bettered and the health of the generality of the people improved which meant that the resistance to disease was increased. Yet, even if this is allowed the disease would not have been almost entirely stamped out had not segregation been enforced.

HOW THE PROBLEM MAY BE SOLVED

If this problem is to be solved during our lifetime, and I make bold to say that it may be solved if we are in earnest in the matter two courses must be followed.

1. The voluntary segregation of lepers must be encouraged, and the compulsory segregation of those lepers who will not segregate themselves but who are a real source of danger to the community, must be enforced.

2. The treatment of the disease itself which is to day hopeful for early cases must be improved as far as possible and brought within the reach of all who suffer from the disease, that they may have the chance of recovering if that is possible.

THE RESULTS OF SEGREGATION

As has already been stated, leprosy was stamped out of Europe largely as a result of segregation. But in addition to this we have three outstanding modern examples of what segregation will do if it is undertaken in a systematic manner.

The Hawaiian Islands—Leprosy has been rife in these islands for many years but segregation has been enforced, and we learn from a United States Senate Report that "Leprosy in Hawaii is relatively and actually on the

decline This satisfactory result is primarily attributed to the effective plan of segregation at Molokai

Norway—The same Report says 'The results achieved in Hawaii find their parallel in Norway Under a policy of segregation the leper rate has been gradually reduced and the following figures are given

Year	Lepers per 100 000 in Norway	Lepers per 100 000 Segregated	Percentage Segregated
1856	191.3	15.7	8
1875	97.1	34.5	35.6
1885	61.9	27.0	43.5
1890	48.4	25.5	52.7
1895	33.3	17.4	5.2
1900	25.7	13.3	51.8
1905	20.4	10.9	53.4
1910	13.5	8.5	63.0

Philippine Islands—Leprosy is being stamped out to-day by the United States Government in these Islands, where almost all the lepers in the Islands are segregated on the Island of Culion It has been said When the U S took over the Philippines they found lepers every where Dr Victor Heiser who was made Director of Public Health and held that position for twelve years personally superintended the segregation of nearly 9 000 lepers in the Island of Culion, where they were given every possible comfort At the present time (1920) there are only about 3,500 lepers showing that of these nearly 9 000 lepers the rest have passed away according to the natural order of the disease and the disease is practically inhibited in the Philippines

The segregation of lepers therefore is a really practical step to take in dealing with the leper problem and does result in the stopping of the spreading of the disease, so that it is quite a reasonable view to take that if all the lepers in India could be segregated in this and the following generations and no lepers allowed to enter India and become new foci of the disease, leprosy could be stamped out of India within about thirty years

THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM BEING ATTEMPTED

A good deal is at present being done in India, and most of the work is on right lines and is making a real contribution towards the stamping out of leprosy

In every province in British India, and in most of the Native States there are one or more leper asylums. The following table gives the number of lepers in leper asylums in each province as far as I have been able to collect statistics also the percentage of lepers segregated in each province

Province	Number of Lepers in Asylums	Percentage of Lepers in Asylums
Central Provinces	1 405	19
Punjab	360	11
Bombay	1 059	10
Bihar and Orissa	1 436	8
United Provinces	891	6
Burma	530	6
Madras	939	5
Bengal	534	3
Assam	103	2

NOTE — The number of inmates is for the year 1911 but it is compared with the only official figures we have of the number of lepers in the provinces — those of the 1911 census. It must be remembered that these latter figures are at least 50 per cent. below the actual number so that to gain an estimate which is at all reliable we must halve the figures in Column

Taking British India as a whole we see that the average percentage of lepers segregated is 7·7 per cent. If we are correct in thinking that the 1911 census figures are 50 per cent. below the actual number it means that only about 5 per cent. of the lepers in the provinces are cared for at all in asylums. I am sure we shall admit that this is not a satisfactory condition of affairs. A very much larger percentage ought to be cared for than 5 per cent. Admitted that many lepers are in a good position socially and able to look after themselves and are not, perhaps a great source of danger to those around them, yet a very

large proportion of the 95 per cent uncared for are a very real menace to the health of the community and an effort should be made to deal with them

When we analyze the figures given above, and add in the number of lepers in Native State asylums also those in the Government asylum in Ceylon and two or three others, we have the lepers distributed as follows

Controlling Body	Number of Asylums	Number of Leper Inmates	Average Number of Inmates
Mission to Lepers	41	4 967	130
Municipal and Government etc	19	2 004	105
Native State	19	1 081	56
Various	15	838	55
Total number of asylums =	94	with 8 890 inmates an average number of 94 lepers	

This is not the place to speak at length of the various bodies doing leper work in India, but I think that seeing that it does the major part of the leper work in India mention ought to be made of the fact that the Mission to Lepers is an international and interdenominational organization which carries on leper work all over the world. The largest leper asylums in India are those connected with this Mission, and I have no hesitation in saying that the most successful in the country are those managed by those men and women connected with this Mission. It may be pointed out that the average number of lepers in the Mission to Lepers asylums is 130, while the average for the other asylums is 72 and I make bold to say that the larger the institution is, up to say a maximum of 500 the more economical and successful it is.

All Provincial Governments make both maintenance and building grants to institutions which are approved by the Government medical officials who are keenly alive to the character and value of the work being done and are anxious to have it extended.

It may be mentioned that the Mission to Lepers gives financial aid to some nine leper asylums, in addition to those which are distinctively its own, and last year spent, including Government grants given, Rs 9 59,205 on its work in the Indian Empire.

PRESENT POSSIBILITIES OF THE SITUATION

Last year the Imperial Legislative Council passed an Amended Lepers Act, under which it is now possible for any Provincial Government to compulsorily segregate the pauper and begging lepers within its own borders. Since 1898 a Lepers Act has been upon the Statute Book but it was so worded that it was of little use practically and was, indeed, almost a dead letter. The existing Amended Lepers Act, however is a most useful piece of legislation and as soon as accommodation is available I believe that all the Provincial Governments will put it into force and make the first real attempt to deal with pauper and begging lepers.

The Bengal Government last year decided to build a leper settlement for lepers to be segregated under the Act. Land is being acquired in the Midnapore district and it is proposed to build a settlement to accommodate 1 000 lepers. The site is a fine one of about 700 acres in extent and is situated in a healthy district. Model houses to accommodate twelve lepers there being three rooms in which four lepers will live together, will be built work will be provided and everything will be done to make the settlement an attractive place.

The Madras Government proposes to encourage the voluntary segregation of its pauper lepers as much as possible, giving the leper who comes under the terms of the Act an opportunity of choosing to which of the existing asylums he will go and settle down. Those who refuse to make a choice, or who run away from an asylum to which they have gone will be sent to a central leper settlement, which they will not be allowed to leave.

The United Provinces Government recently formed a Committee which has made comprehensive plans for dealing with the pauper lepers in that province, suggesting the building of several additional asylums for voluntary inmates, as well as two or three settlements for those to be compulsorily dealt with

The Punjab Government is also taking definite action so is the Central Provinces Government indeed, all the Provincial Governments are considering what ought to be done so that one hopes that in a comparatively short time very much more will have been done in the direction of promoting both voluntary and compulsory segregation

These forward movements are in line with the Findings and Recommendations of the Conference of the Leper Asylum Superintendents and Others held in Calcutta in 1920 This Conference was convened by the Mission to Lepers and was the most representative Conference of leper workers and experts that has ever been held in the East The Findings of this Conference are appended and I would like to call particular attention to Findings Nos 3 4 and 5 which are as follows

‘3 That as far as possible segregation should be of a voluntary character as is now carried out in the asylums of the Missions to Lepers except as is hereinafter recommended in the case of pauper lepers under the Act

4 That it is our considered opinion that the present type of Mission Asylums with sympathetic *Christian* management affords the best means of effecting a voluntary segregation of lepers

5 That we further consider that where the compulsory segregation of large numbers of pauper lepers becomes necessary this might be brought about by the establishment of suitable settlements for the care of this class of people

This summarizes the attempt, as far as segregation is concerned that is being made to-day to solve the leper problem in India

THE TREATMENT OF LEPROSY

In addition to segregation, as we indicated before, there is another course to be followed if leprosy is to be stamped out in India and that is to improve the treatment of the disease with the hope of finding a real cure and to make the very best treatment available to all lepers

I feel diffident in speaking of a purely medical matter, and yet I have had a good deal to do with the trial of the latest treatments for leprosy and so I am somewhat in a position of being able to say what has been, and is being done in that direction

Up to a few years ago there was really no treatment that was at all hopeful. Many remedies have been from time to time tried but almost all of them have proved to be practically useless

For some 200 years so it is said chaulmoogra oil has been used by lepers for outward application but till the last year there was little that was permanent as a result of using this oil. It is to in I M S Dr Sir Leonard Rogers that we owe so very much to day and he has done magnificent service to the Empire in conducting research in the direction of obtaining fresh preparations of chaulmoogra oil and in finding other oils also so that now we are in the happy position of being able to say that there is a reasonable hope of an early cure of leprosy becoming apparently free of the disease if he will persevere with the treatment as given by a qualified doctor

Three years ago when I returned to India I was impressed with the need of there being an extended trial of the latest treatments for leprosy and I secured the interest and help of the then Viceroy Lord Chelmsford who with Lady Chelmsford, have done so much to help stir up public interest in India in this important matter. I submitted a scheme to the Government of India for the trial of the treatments by qualified European and American medical men and women which was accepted immediately and a

considerable sum of money was placed at my disposal for this purpose. I made the arrangements for the work to be done. Sir Leonard Rogers gave me technical advice and encouragement and this scheme is still being worked out. Some of the results of these trials were collected by me last year, collated by Dr E. Muir, now the Leprosy Research Worker at the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine and presented to the Calcutta Conference to which reference has already been made. It was then stated by Dr Muir that although in most of the cases the treatment was of comparatively short duration, definite improvement was obtained in 72 per cent, and much improvement in 52 per cent of the cases under review.

In those cases which were treated for from six to twelve months 100 per cent showed definite improvement while in 52 per cent it was pronounced.

During the last year there has been a most remarkable advance made in the treatment of which I cannot stay to speak in detail but the following are the most important of the treatments being used at present.

1. Intravenous injections of sodium gynocardate and sodium hypnocardate. These are both prepared from chaulmoogra oil. The injections result in the destruction of the lepra bacilli in the tissues followed in some cases at least by disappearance of the nodules, healing of the ulcers and general improvement.

2. Intravenous and subcutaneous injections of sodium morrhuate. This is a preparation from cod liver oil and gives similar results to gynocardate injections with less trouble. In some cases both sodium gynocardate and sodium morrhuate are used on the same patient one being alternated with the other often with most hopeful results.

3. Subcutaneous injections of sodium soyate. This is prepared from the soya bean oil and has given good results in some cases. It has however not been much tried, as far as I am aware but the results obtained were hopeful.

Sir Leonard Rogers suggests that the soya bean might well form part of the diet in leper asylums

4 Intramuscular injections of ethyl ester preparations of the fatty acids of chaulmoogra oil. These are now being tried on a large scale and are giving the best results of any of the treatments enumerated

As a result of using these ethyl ester preparations Dr J. F. McDonald was able to report recently that seventy-eight of the Honolulu Leper Hospital patients had been paroled by a Medical Board, none of whom had relapsed at the time of writing his report. I have just received word from India that two lepers have been allowed to leave one of the Mission to Lepers asylums as they were apparently free from the disease.

Sir Leonard Rogers recently said: "There is no doubt that a very great advance has been made in the treatment of leprosy by my researches in Calcutta and the more recent valuable extension of the work in Honolulu, which may well lead before long to actual cures of this terrible disease being obtained."

I would ask you to note, however, that all of us who work among lepers are most particular not to speak of having cured lepers. The average incubation period of leprosy is said to be about six to eight years, so that till the cases which are now symptom and bacteriologically free remain so for the average incubation period we should be unwise to speak of them as cured. On the other hand, when you cannot find any trace of the bacilli, when ulcers are healed, the nodules disappear, the anæsthetic parts have the feeling restored, and all outward signs of the disease are lost, we are not going too far in saying that we trust that the doctors are on the track of a real cure.

This treatment is making a great difference in the leper asylums. One of the honorary superintendents writes:

The new treatment has changed the outlook. The people are clamorous for it. The old despair has passed.

Another writes

The effect of the treatment on the morals of the Home is nothing less than a miracle. They are 250 of the happiest jolliest people you can come across.

Work among lepers then is not to-day the almost hopeless work it used to be. Formerly it was merely the question of taking care of the poor people till they passed away, giving them as much joy affording them as much relief as possible and putting before them the consolation of religion and that was the end of what could be done. But to-day there is hope for very many of them! And we have the authority of such a great expert as Sir Leonard Rogers for hoping that soon we shall be using a treatment that will be a cure for the disease. This therefore is another reason why leper work should be undertaken as never before the public co-operating with the Government in making provision for all lepers who either desire to segregate themselves or who ought to be segregated for the good of others.

SUMMARY

Segregation, which has done so much in other countries should be encouraged or enforced compulsorily in the case of those who are a danger to the public and who will not segregate themselves.

Asylums for voluntary inmates should be built wherever they are needed.

The Provincial Governments in India should be urged to proceed at once with the erection of leper settlements so that the Amended Lepers Act may be put into force and the thousands of wandering pauper and begging lepers may be prevented from spreading the disease wherever they go as they undoubtedly do at present. This matter is one that should be treated as urgent. As His Excellency Lord Willingdon recently said in a letter to myself. The leper problem is so important out here and is further a matter which *can* be grappled with.

The untainted children of leper parents should be separated from their leper parents or relatives and brought up in special homes where their friends could see them from time to time, and where they would be well cared for and properly educated. The Mission to Lepers has some twenty of these homes for untainted children in India, and they should be built wherever leper settlements are to be erected. They are a success, and the children are thus saved from becoming lepers.

The latest treatments for the disease should be made accessible to every leper in the country by being provided at every leper asylum or settlement as well as at the large Government hospitals.

If these steps were taken we could confidently look forward to the time when we shall have solved the leper problem in India by having stamped out the disease in the whole Indian Empire.

It could be done. If it could then it ought to be attempted.

APPENDIX

ALL INDIA CONFERENCE ON THE LEPER PROBLEM

The most representative Leper Conference yet held in India met in Calcutta early in February 1920. It was convened by the Mission to Lepers and was a Conference of experts. The delegates were as follows: Forty Honorary Superintendents and workers in leper asylums; six Medical Missionaries connected with work among lepers; three Secretaries of the Mission to Lepers; five Government and official delegates.

The Government of India appointed Lieutenant Colonel Sir Leonard Keeler, I.M.S., and Lieutenant Colonel F. H. G. Hutchinson, I.M.S. (Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India) as its delegates. The Government of Bengal sent Major N. I. Sinha, I.M.S., and the Government of Bombay Dr. Rodrigues. Many important questions were discussed and the following findings were adopted by the Conference at its closing session:

1. That the Conference of Leper Asylum Superintendents now assembled in Calcutta adopt the unanimous findings of the special Medical Subcommittee which are as follows:

(a) That leprosy is contagious but slowly with a long incubation period through the escape of the causative bacillus in the nasal discharges of the majority of cases which include many early cases having no outwardly visible ulceration and to a less extent from open sores

(b) That the disease is not directly hereditary children being free from actual infection at birth but that they are specially susceptible to contagion from an early age children as a class being more susceptible than adults These facts necessitate the earliest possible separation of infants and children from infected leper parents

(c) That in view of the preceding opinions segregation is the most effective measure for reducing the prevalence of leprosy and the grave danger to the community of unrestricted association with lepers

(d) That the Committee therefore unanimously endorse the Memorandum regarding the amendment of the Indian Lepers Act of 1898 which has been submitted by the Indian Auxiliary of the Mission to Lepers to the Government of India

(e) That the Committee recommend that steps be taken to provide facilities for the training of Medical Assistants in the diagnosis and in the treatment of leprosy to enable the best methods to be more generally used in asylums and also in hospitals and dispensaries as the majority of the more amenable earlier cases will for a long time to come be most easily and economically dealt with in the latter institutions Leper institutions should be provided with facilities for microscopic examinations

(f) That the Committee are of the opinion that in view of the considerable degree of fecundity of lepers especially of females and the excessive danger of contagion to the children of lepers which play a great part in maintaining the prevalence of the disease the separation of the sexes is desirable as far as possible Whenever this is not found to be practicable married lepers should only be allowed to live together on the express understanding that any children born to them shall be separated from their infected parents at the earliest possible age The Committee also consider that it is especially desirable to separate patients presenting good prospects of recovery under efficient treatment to eliminate the risk of the healthy mate becoming infected while the partner is undergoing treatment

(g) That the method of treatment with the salts of fatty acids introduced by Lieutenant Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers I M S has been lately tested by fourteen medical officers and assistants in leper asylums throughout India with most favourable results 72 per cent showing marked improvement in spite of the fact that

most of the cases were advanced and the period of treatment had been comparatively short. More research is needed however further to improve the treatment. In view of the international importance of research in connection with leprosy carried on in India an application be made to the International Health Commission for a grant towards this work.

2 That the Conference consider that legislation should be primarily concerned with pauper lepers as these are the greatest menace to public health.

3 That as far as possible segregation should be of a voluntary character as is now carried out in the asylums of the Mission to Lepers, except as is hereinafter recommended in the case of pauper lepers under the Act.

4 That it is our considered opinion that the present type of Mission Asylums with sympathetic Christian management affords the best means of effecting a voluntary segregation of lepers.

5 That we further consider that where the compulsory segregation of large numbers of pauper lepers becomes necessary this might be brought about by the establishment of suitable settlements for the care of this class of people.

6 That no amendment of the Lepers Act in itself or the establishment of leper settlements will be of any real value unless the provisions of the Act are strictly enforced.

7 That in the case of voluntary institutions now notified under the Act the provision of detention wards is not desirable.

8 That the Conference reaffirm the principle that segregation of the sexes should be maintained in all Mission asylums except under exceptional circumstances and that the marriage of lepers in Mission Asylums is not desirable.

9 That the Conference recommend that great care be observed in the selection of sites for new asylums and in the arrangements for water supply and drainage and that where necessary expert advice should be obtained also that it is desirable and economical to erect buildings of substantial construction and of an approved type according to local requirements.

10 That in conclusion it is the opinion of the Conference that the disease of leprosy could be stamped out in India if all lepers were segregated but as this does not appear to be practicable at this time it strongly urges that the first step to be taken in this direction is the segregation of all pauper lepers.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall Westminster S.W. on Monday, October 4, 1910, at which a Lantern Lecture was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Oldrieve, entitled "The Leper Problem in India." Sir Edward Cutcliffe occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present: Sir Frank Cutcliffe, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.; Lieut. Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers, C.I.E., M.D.; Mrs. Sir William Owen Clark; Dr. Theodor Summer, C.I.E.; Mr. W. Collinson, K.C.I.H.; Colonel and Mr. M. J. Meade, C.I.E.; Mr. J. Procter Watson; Mr. J. S. Dhunjalhoy; Lady Kensington; Lady Cutcliffe; Mr. Oldrieve; Mrs. A. M. I. Jackson; Mrs. Collinson; Miss L. K. Scatcherd; Mr. L. J. P. Kuchter; Mr. Murray; Miss Lester; Lady Johnstone; Mrs. Irene Smith; Miss Wake; Mrs. M. Sorabji; Dr. Cornwall Kound; Mr. Dun in Irvine; Mrs. Drury; Miss Stuart; Mr. C. Crook; Mr. P. V. Curry; Dr. and Mrs. Frankherd; Colonel and Mr. Stephen; Mrs. Lowly; Major General Chumier, C.B., C.I.E.; Dr. S. B. Mehta; Mr. H. L. Cust; Mr. H. J. K. Hemming; Rev. Dr. W. Stanton; Mr. L. C. Vaidya; Mr. H. L. Inch; Mr. W. C. Martley; Mr. H. S. Kix; Mr. W. Hayward; M.B.E.; Miss Alfred L. Thompson; Miss Nina Corner; Rev. Frank I. Miller; Miss Allwork; and Mr. Stanley L. Lee, Hon. Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen.—The Rev. Frank Oldrieve is the representative in India of the Mission to Lepers, which is doing such admirable work in India and other parts of Asia in bringing relief to persons suffering from one of the most painful and certainly the most repulsive of the diseases which afflict the human race. In the course of his duties he has travelled throughout the length and breadth of India investigating the local conditions, inspiring leper asylums, devising relief measures with the Provincial Governments and their officers, and addressing public meetings. He is thus exceptionally well qualified to speak of the leper problem, and I will now ask him to read the paper which he has so kindly prepared for us.

The paper was then read and received with applause.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen.—I have already had the satisfaction of taking part in several meetings where Mr. Oldrieve has spoken on the subject of his life's work. He has always proved himself to be most interesting and instructive, and the present occasion is no exception. We have all listened with great interest to his paper; he has stated the problem convincingly, and I personally find very little to criticize. As a former Census Commissioner for India, I felt tempted to discuss some statistical aspects of the question, but I will content myself with saying that Mr. Oldrieve is undoubtedly correct in his view that the actual number of lepers in India must greatly exceed the number

shown in the census tables. The disease inspires horror and loathing and no one but a beggar who lives by parading his sufferings is willing to admit that he is a leper. The census officers were not in a position to make searching inquiries and except where the existence of this disease was already known to them they had to rely on what they were told. The precise extent of the omissions is a matter of opinion but I should regard Mr Oldrieve's estimate of 50 per cent. as the maximum.

The two essential facts which emerge from what the lecturer has said are that leprosy is terribly prevalent in India and that it is contagious. Leprosy has not always been regarded as contagious. It was so regarded in Europe in the Middle Ages when as we have heard lepers were rigorously segregated in asylums. But a generation or so ago the opinion gained ground that the disease was due to something eaten and a fish diet in particular came under suspicion. At the time of the census of 1901 I had a long conversation with a distinguished physician who had come out to India to try and find support for the fish theory of infection. He failed to find any. Since then there has been a very remarkable consensus of expert opinion in favour of the contagious nature of the disease. The disease is caused by a specific bacillus and its contagious character may now be regarded as fully established. The great importance of this fact has already been pointed out by the lecturer. If no one can be infected by the disease unless he comes into contact with a leper it is clear that leprosy could easily be eradicated from India in a comparatively short time just as it has already been eradicated from our own and most other European countries. In the provision of asylums the Mission to Lepers has taken a predominant part. The figures which have been quoted to us show that more lepers are accommodated in the Mission's asylums than in all other asylums taken together. I should also like to corroborate from my personal observation the statement of the lecturer that the management of the Mission's asylums is far superior to that of most others. The superintendents are missionaries who undertake the work not as a means of livelihood but in a spirit of pure philanthropy. I have visited several of these asylums and have been immensely impressed by the efforts which are made to do everything possible to alleviate the lot of the unhappy inmates. Rejected by their own kith and kin and regarded by the general public with horror and disgust they find in these asylums a real home and in the superintendent kind and sympathetic friends who treat them not as outcasts but as fellow human beings. The good work done by the Mission is recognized by all the Provincial Governments who make capitation grants towards the maintenance of its asylums.

But as Mr Oldrieve has shown the existing asylums accommodate only a small proportion of the total leper population and their number must be very largely increased if the problem is to be adequately dealt with. It may be said that it is the duty of the Provincial Governments to find the necessary funds but these Governments have many calls upon their resources which are altogether inadequate, some of them are almost bankrupt and they will have very great difficulty in providing for the

construction and maintenance of the proposed leper settlements for the segregation of the worst type of pauper lepers. As regards the voluntary asylums on which reliance must mainly be placed they will be unable, I fear to do more than continue the existing system of making grants in aid. If the problem is to be properly tackled we must look to the Mission to Lepers to do it and the Mission will be unable to increase its efforts unless it gets more funds. Its present expenditure is equal to if it does not exceed its income. Until lately its supporters came mostly from the United Kingdom but in the last two or three years I am glad to say that thanks mainly to Mr Oldrieve's ardent advocacy many Indians have begun to contribute. It is to be hoped that these local contributions will be largely increased. But even so the work to be done is so great that the Mission will be unable to cope with it unless largely increased subscriptions are obtained from the United Kingdom also. I know of few charities which are more deserving than this one.

We have been told how recently hopes have been aroused that a cure has been discovered for this disease which has for so long baffled the best efforts of medical science. For this credit is due mainly to Sir Leonard Rogers who has done so much valuable research work in connection with tropical diseases. Mr Oldrieve has given us a good many of the leading facts in connection with this most hopeful development and as Sir Leonard himself is present here to-day I will not take up more of your time but I will call on him to describe his researches and the results which have already been achieved. (*Hear hear*)

SIR LEONARD ROGERS. Sir Edward Cair, Ladies and Gentlemen—I am glad to have an opportunity of being present during this discussion. In the first place I wish to add my testimony to the very good work Mr Oldrieve has done in India in the last few years in arousing interest, getting increased grants and especially for getting a considerable amount of Indian subscriptions which we hope will be further increased.

Secondly, the important point I wish to speak on is with regard to the renewed hope we now have of being able to tackle this great problem. That it is a great problem you have all heard and it is scarcely possible to exaggerate it. Dr Muir's recent statement that there are 500 000 lepers in India is based on the fact that he made careful inquiries amongst the lepers as to whether they had been returned in the census and he found that only two out of thirty had been so returned. Of course it is impossible to say how many there are but I do not think 500 000 is an underestimate. At any rate the problem is an immense one and the resources we have are not sufficient to deal with it adequately. Only if we bring new forces to our help shall we make better progress and those new forces I hope we shall get from recent researches. Two of the great difficulties we have to deal with are first of all the very long incubation period of the disease which is given as about eight years and it may be from a few months up to many years and in one case which was reported it was forty years. If you think of smallpox with an incubation period of a few days and then think of an incubation period of several years how difficult will it be to trace the infection of leprosy. In

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the case of leprosy we have the bacilli discharged from ulcers and still more in the nasal discharges of patients many of the latter being in an early and not easily recognizable stage and every time they sneeze or blow their noses they are distributing these bacilli. The other difficulty is that the disease begins very slowly and insidiously, and it is common in the less severe cases for a patient to have really suffered from the disease for several years before it is discoverable and most of these cases are actively infectious so that you will be able to see that even where the segregation method has been carried out in many places we have been greatly handicapped by the impossibility of controlling cases in the early stages. Even in the case of the Philippines cases are still cropping up every year although there are no cases of marked disease going about now. That is a result partly of the long incubation period and to infection from those early cases which are so difficult to detect. In such a dreadful disease it is obvious any patient will naturally hide the symptoms as long as he can so that as it seems to me if we had some means to enable us to attract the early cases and if instead of the early cases hiding themselves we could give them some inducement to come forward as early as possible (which would be done if they realized they had a chance of being cured) then the problem would be immensely simplified.

This is hardly the place to speak in detail with regard to the actual treatment but I will deal with the principles. The principle of the recent advances is exceedingly simple and is the same as I used in working out the emetine treatment of dysentery. It consists of nothing more than taking a drug which has been used for centuries empirically and which is believed by great numbers of medical men to have some definite influence over a definite disease such as ipecacuanha in the case of dysentery and chaulmoogra oil in leprosy. Then we set to work to isolate the active principles and get them into a soluble form so that they can be given by injection instead of by the mouth. Recently chaulmoogra oil has been injected by the intermuscular method with better results than formerly. I had previously come to the conclusion that the lower melting point fatty acids called gynocardic acid gave better results than the whole oil. As far back as 1911 I tried unsuccessfully to get an English firm to make me a soluble preparation of gynocardic acid. Later on I set to work again and made soluble sodium salts of the different fatty acids of the oil and I soon found that by injecting these subcutaneously I got better results but the method was rather painful and slow so I next found by a few very simple experiments that it was safe to inject these preparations intravenously. I then found you got a febrile and local reaction followed by a much more rapid improvement and on making microscopic investigations I found the leprosy bacilli in the tissues broke up into small round dots and were destroyed—the first time I believe in the history of medicine that a pathogenous bacillus has been destroyed in the human system by a vegetable substance. Then we found after long treatment the lesions completely disappeared together with the bacilli.

I am afraid we cannot talk about a cure at this stage of a disease in

which the incubation period may be as long as eight years because there may be some bacilli left which have not been destroyed although I have a few cases who have remained well for about five years. At the same time in 80 per cent of my cases there has been very great improvement and in over 40 per cent the lesions have completely disappeared. The Americans have worked out a further practical advance by using a slightly different chemical compound an ethyl ester chaulmoograte given intramuscularly. Dr Muir is also using it in many cases in Calcutta and its results are proving very satisfactory. With it you can give about 100 injections in an hour against about 15 by the intravenous method. There are many other details which I cannot go into now but those are the essential points and I am glad to say that we have now renewed hope and the main point to my mind is that once this is known amongst the lepers themselves they will come in for treatment as early as possible. Not only will they be able to be treated in the asylums and in the large leper colonies about to be started in India and then possibly discharged and followed up but also the treatment can now be carried out in every hospital in India and wherever leprosy occurs and consequently it can be extended all over the world and we shall therefore be in a better position to treat new cases which arise. The duration of the disease is about ten years.

Now just one final word about the children. A very remarkable fact is that where children of leper parents have lived with their parents for seven to ten years—that is over the incubation period—44 per cent were affected by leprosy. The children are infinitely more susceptible than adults and if we could protect the children from infection we could, I believe, get rid of leprosy by that method alone in about three generations. When infected parents know that they can be treated efficiently with a good chance of recovery they will, I think, be only too ready to be separated for a time from their children to lessen the danger of infecting them. By such measures we are getting into a much better position to deal with the problem and I am glad to say I was able to arrange before I left India for Dr Muir to take up the research work in leprosy and that research is now going on and we want more and more research work to be carried on. We also want definite knowledge as to the way in which the disease is conveyed. We know that one patient must infect another directly or indirectly but exactly how we do not know. When we get to know exactly how the disease is conveyed we shall be able to deal with it still more effectively. (Hear hear and applause)

DR CORNWELL ROUND said that he had a suggestion to make but it was quite in the nature of drawing a bow at a venture. He knew very little about leprosy except for having seen one case but for the last few years he had been making experiment with a certain drug of which very little was known—namely tungstate of soda which seemed to have a considerable retarding action on embryonic tissue so much so that last year he had a tadpole alive in September (the control tadpoles having changed normally to frogs during the summer) and this year he had a tadpole (hatched in March) in the middle of October a result achieved

solely by the inhibitory action of tungstate of soda. He thought there might possibly be some way in which tungstate of soda could be applied to the treatment of leprosy. For he had tried various strengths of solution on tadpoles pond weed algæ and water-cress, and found that with increasing strengths it killed out first of all one form of algæ and then the water cress still greater strengths destroying the tadpoles, but finally on the other hand other forms of algæ seeming to be stimulated thus suggesting a selective toxic action by tungstate of soda on various forms of life. According to German researches it was comparatively innocuous to both animals and human beings and he thought it might be worth trying to see if it had a poisonous effect on the bacilli of leprosy. He had looked up the authorities but he could find no information with regard to it except in the German reports. In his experiments he had tried by using a weak solution to retard embryonic tissue and in the tadpoles whose development and growth had (after primary stimulation) been kept back there was evidence that in some cases it would do so.*

MR COIDSTREAM. Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—There has been put into my hands this afternoon a few sentences of a letter written by our good friend Dr John Pollen whose name is so well known by those in this room addressed to Colonel Merde who gave them to me as he was obliged to leave early. I will take the liberty of reading them to you. Dr Pollen says

I know something of lepers and leper asylums for I was once superintendent of the asylum in Ratnagiri and I lived for many years close by the Matunga Leper Asylum in Bombay (in which my friend and brother civilian Harry Ackworth J.C.S. took such an active and energetic interest). I used often to visit the asylum and tried to cheer the inmates but usually lepers need little cheering. Taking them all round they are a cheerful and sometimes jovial crew bearing their crosses with God given patience and resignation. It is the old story. He [God] does temper the wind to the shorn lamb and life to the leper has its compensations. Still he is most grateful for sympathy and being gifted with a brighter intelligence than the unafflicted he realizes honest efforts to make his life happier and is helpful and grateful for them.

I am delighted to gather from Dr Oldrieve's paper that there is some prospect of a recognized cure for leprosy. The Great Healer of course healed the disease by a touch and there is perhaps more in Christian Science in relation to this fell disease than many imagine, and of course we know the dipping in Jordan's stream with a kind of protesting half *faith* and nascent hope worked a well known wonder. (Any faith that drives out the old despair must have a curative effect and as an Esperantist I am a firm believer in Hope.)

What a good thing it would be to get a Tolstoyan idealist like Gandhi to give up his political sainthood and work for the well being of lepers!

* This series of experiments has been duplicated with like results by Mr Milligan F.Z.S. curator to the Zoological Department of Horniman Museum. The tadpole is still alive and unchanged at the end of November.

This is a work in which he might give up his Non Co operation and co-operate with the Government in making provision for all lepers who either desire to segregate themselves or who ought to be segregated for the good of others

Let us hope that Mr Gandhi will be persuaded to turn his attention and his great energies in this direction

Ladies and gentlemen before I sit down I have to discharge another task It is to propose for your acceptance a hearty vote of thanks to our chairman We are fortunate in having as our chairman to day Sir Edward Gait who is so conversant with the whole problem of lepers and who has distinguished himself by his work for the betterment of this people and who has done long and honourable service in India and latterly in the high position of Governor of Behar and Orissa I am sure you will join with me in offering a most hearty vote of thanks to Sir Edward Gait

The resolution was seconded and carried by acclamation

The CHAIRMAN This concludes the proceedings and the meeting is now closed

THE ENGLISH BOY IN INDIA

By THE REV OSWALD YOUNGHUSBAND

SINCE I have been back in England I have been trying to raise money for a University hostel for English students in India. On all sides I have been told that no time could be more difficult than the present for raising money. But apart from the question of money there seems to be a considerable lack of knowledge as to the existence of these boys in India. To test that matter I recently put two questions to young Englishmen educated in India who have come home for further training at universities and workshops. I asked them in the first place, how they found people in England whether they were friendly to them and they replied 'Perfectly'. I then asked them whether they had ever yet found anybody in England who was aware of the existence of English boys educated in India and they replied, 'Never'.

Perhaps the simplest explanation of the existence of English boys educated in India would be that if the inhabitants of any given town or village in England were to be planted down in India, only a limited number of them would be able to afford to send their boys home for education. Men who are working in such capacities as station masters, guards, engine drivers, foremen, and office superintendents are not always in a position to send their boys home for education, and further than that, some of them have become domiciled or settled down in India. There are then these two bodies of men—those covenanted from England and those domiciled in the country—who have their sons educated in India. In addition to them there are Anglo-Indians. The term Eurasian is a very vague term and includes those who have no connection with England. The term "Anglo-Indian" means those

of English stock. A hundred and fifty years ago a journey to India took a long time, and those who went out were not in any hurry to come home again. They did not come home at those frequent intervals that men do now. English girls in those days were perhaps not so enterprising as they are now, and there were not many girls in England ready to take that long journey to India. Englishmen in India desired to marry and in the absence of English girls they married Indian wives. It is not the usual custom at the present day for Englishmen to marry Indian wives. It dates from a period in the past when there were few English girls in the country. The descendants of these marriages have been brought up at English schools with English boys and on English lines and they should, I think be regarded as English. If they are not regarded as English, but a being neither one thing nor the other it may lead to results not satisfactory to them or to anybody else. Sometimes men in the bitterness of their hearts have said 'If Englishmen wish to be apart from us we wish to be apart from Englishmen. We wish to be neither English nor Indian, but to have a separate Anglo Indian race of our own. In practice that might come to mean. We wish to be apart from Englishmen, but we can leave Englishmen to fag about and provide for the education of our boys—an invitation which Englishmen would decline with thanks, and boys in India would be left to their fate. Government has I think, made a serious mistake in regarding those who have been brought up in India as being not English. Some years ago I said to an English friend of mine a high official of the Government of India that I thought a certain Englishman would make an excellent representative for the domiciled community on the Legislative Council. He replied 'I quite agree with you. He is a first rate man, but the unfortunate part of it is he happens to be an Englishman. I said I do not know why you should say unfortunate. I happen to be an Englishman myself, and for years the domiciled community in Lahore, English

and Anglo-Indian alike, have elected me as their President.' The matter seems to have started in this way. In the old days it was considered an inferior thing to have been educated outside Britain. But Australians and Canadians, being masters of their own countries, were able to say to England 'We are attached to the Old Country but we consider the young country to be just as good as the Old Country.' And England could not say them nay, or the world-wide British Empire might have been reduced to a small island in the North Sea. Englishmen educated in India have been in a different position. They have never been masters of India. They have had on one side of them officials from England and on the other side the masses of Indians outnumbering them by a thousand to one who have rapidly been gaining the power to rule and govern their own country. Whilst then it is no longer considered an inferior thing to have been educated in Canada or Australia it is still regarded as an inferior thing to have been educated in India. When in addition to this some of the boys had a touch of colour it was considered that the schools could not possibly be English schools.

I have gone into this matter at some length, because it vitally affects the educational problem in India at the present time. A considerable number of men who have been heads of Government departments and not a few men who have come to the front in non official capacities have been educated at schools in Northern India. Taken as a whole though there have certainly been exceptions they have had little sense of responsibility to their own system of education.

As I toiled along with the weary task of raising money for a University hostel the attitude of too many of them was. It is so nice seeing somebody fagging about and doing our work for us. Under those circumstances, nothing would have induced me to go on with the work except the knowledge that it was anyhow, not the fault of the boys themselves. Then men educated in England, who seem to

me to have been the original cause of the trouble, said "Let men educated in India do their own work themselves" whilst here at home men have said "We have every sympathy with these boys, and we think the University hostel an excellent idea, but income tax in England is at six shillings in the pound, and it is for people in India to see it through

Unless then, there is a much better mutual understanding between men educated in India and in England the future before boys in India will be a perilous one. I venture to hope that the Prince of Wales with his royal gift of sympathy will be able to create a better spirit all round, and give a message of hope to these boys in India that England has not forgotten them and will not forget them.

What then, are the lines on which they should be trained, now that there is no longer any paternal government, and that they have to develop their own life as British settlers in India? I think that they should be trained much more on colonial lines, by which a lazy boy has things made unpleasant for him, and an energetic boy can rise to whatever position in life he is fit for. English boys in India, if they have been lazy, have had an easier time and if they have been energetic a harder time in India than in other parts of the Empire.

Some four years ago I gathered together a number of boys and said to them "Some of you are lazy and some of you are energetic. In that respect you are exactly like boys in England and other parts of the Empire. I have not got the time to give to both classes, so I will leave the lazy boys to the general effects of the Reform scheme, which will be able to deal with them much better than I can, but I should like if possible to do something to help those that are energetic." I then set to work to make enquiries. Both the Engineering College at Roorkee and the Forest College at Dehra Dun told me that nearly all their students had previously taken science degrees, and that an English boy would not have the slightest chance of

holding his own unless he had had some measure of University education. I then asked business men what was the best commercial college in India, and I was told the Sydenham College of Commerce at Bombay. On enquiring at that college I was told that before a student could be admitted he must have read at the University up to the Intermediate stage. University training is also needed for a medical degree and for the different Imperial Services, for which there is now recruiting in India. The object of a University hostel is not to deter boys from coming to England but to provide for those boys (and there are many of them) whose parents cannot afford to send them home.

The hostel which is still in temporary buildings, is open to students from any part of India, and some have already come from the United and the Central Provinces, but the majority have come from the Punjab. As there is no likelihood that the Punjab Government would support more than one such hostel in the province, the fairest thing seemed to be to make it not only open to all denominations but governed by a committee representative of all denominations. The Hostel Committee at Lahore includes the Church of England Bishop, a senior Roman Catholic priest and the chairman of the Board regulating the affairs of the Presbyterian Church throughout India besides the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University and other leading educationalists. The ex-Moderator of the Church of Scotland who has been commissioned to go to India this winter tells me that he will make a point of visiting Lahore, and will amongst other things report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland what it can do along the lines of this hostel. The question has sometimes been asked whether boys are happy in India, or whether they are only there because they cannot help themselves.

Since I have been home in England I have been told both at public schools and Universities, that there is a strong reluctance on the part of young men at the present time to go out to India at any rate to Government service

in India I have therefore been rather struck by the attitude of young men educated in India I put the matter to some of those recently come home in this way I said to them "Now that you are here in England there is no need for you to return to India unless you want to If you like, you can say to yourselves 'Our fathers were very sensible men in settling down in India, but we may be rather foolish boys if we remain settled down in India There is no law that compels you to remain domiciled in India You can change your domicile and settle down in England if you wish to do so I found, however that none of them wanted to settle down in England Some of them wanted to go to some other part of the world such as South America for engineering experience, but they all seemed to wish eventually to make their way back to India

Their feeling seemed to be something like this 'We have been brought up in India and we like India We are very glad to have come to England for experience We would not have missed that experience for worlds, but we feel that England is too small and cramped an island to remain in and we should like to go back to India.' What then will be their position in India? Mr Sastri once asked me whether the domiciled community considered that they were part of the nation of India I replied 'No I think they consider that they are part of the nation of England

I believe that was the correct answer to give I do not suppose that Indians resident in this country would consider that they are part of the nation of England They would be and would wish themselves to be, still Indians Neither Englishmen nor Indians lose their identity by settling in the other country The position of these boys in India will be I should imagine that of British settlers in India who now that the days of a paternal government are over, have serious responsibilities to face

As the East India Association includes amongst its members both Englishmen and Indians, and exists to

promote the welfare of the inhabitants of India, I thought it might be of some interest to consider whether the relations between these British settlers and the general body of the people of India are satisfactory, if they are unsatisfactory, what has caused them to be unsatisfactory, and if there are any ways by which they can be made more satisfactory. I believe that on the whole they are satisfactory and that they could be made more satisfactory if attention is paid to certain points.

Any looking down on boys in India or calling them by unsatisfactory names makes things more difficult. The other day I read in a London paper a short article by a lady in Northern India in which she said that these boys were looked down upon and were called half-castes and that they in turn called Indians niggers. I have very rarely come across boys in India who call Indians niggers, and when they do so, it is the easiest thing in the world to deal with them. The rough and tumble life of a big railway workshop may not be the best place in the world for manners but in spite of that their manners on the whole are extremely good, much better than are sometimes found in big workshops in England. I venture to hope then, that epithets will not be applied about them which they dislike very much indeed. Then, had religious bodies in England in the first instance gone carefully into the educational needs of English boys in India made their education efficient and adequate for the needs of to day, they would have had little difficulty in carrying them with them in work for Indians, but going in the first place to Indian students providing University hostels for them, and then saying to English students. We are sorry that we have not got the means to provide you with University hostels. has proved a source of irritation to English boys in India.

To take another point. Had Labour leaders when they came to India gone in the first instance to British artisans in India, carefully studied their problems and difficulties,

and having done so laid them before the Trades Unions in England they would have had little difficulty in carrying British artisans with them in a sympathetic grasp of Indian affairs. As it is, British artisans in India consider that if India is to be ruled by the Labour party in England it will be the end of all things. Their view may be right or wrong but it is worthy of notice. These matters all deserve consideration when the relations between British settlers and the general body of Indians are considered.

Some have thought that there is something radically wrong with the British boy in India, and that he cannot get on well with Indians. I believe that that is a complete mistake. Nearly four years ago a small University hostel was started for these boys in temporary quarters at Lahore. Not long after the Punjab disorders broke out. There has been a good deal of racial feeling probably more in the Punjab than elsewhere. The position of these hostel students has not been an easy one. Had undergraduates from England been at this hostel it is quite likely that they might have come into collision with Indian students from time to time yet during all this time I have not had a single complaint with regard to any hostel student, whilst Indian professors have told me that they are thorough young gentlemen, and that they would like to have many more of them.

The way to deal with racial feeling in India at the present time seems to be to create fresh points of contact between Englishmen and Indians. English sportsmen may not have much in common with Indian philosophers but English sportsmen will have common interests with Indian sportsmen. English philosophers with Indian philosophers. English business men with Indian business men and English politicians with Indian politicians. Who are there then to have points of contact with Indian undergraduates who are now at the most impressionable period of their lives easily influenced in one direction or another and who will play no small part in the future life of India?

The answer is "Their English fellow undergraduates" They may be able to speak in a language better understood by Indian students than that spoken by English officials Officials are bound to say that Government is invariably right whatever their private judgment may be Indians reply that Government is invariably wrong The more that Englishmen say that Government is a divine institution, the more Indians reply that it is satanic English undergraduates are free men and can interpret the thoughts of Englishmen as follows 'None of us Englishmen really believe that Government is always right and we are quite sure that you Indians do not really believe that Government is always wrong If you study our newspapers in England you will see that whilst they are not favourably impressed by the red tape that goes on in Government offices they are quite ready to admit that permanent officials may sometimes do useful work In the ordinary intercourse of daily life and not least upon the playing fields the English undergraduate has many opportunities of showing that, though the Englishman may take a little time to know yet when you do get to know him he is not a bad fellow The fact that this hostel still in its infancy and hardly yet out of its cradle has already done useful work in difficult times seems to me to be a sign that that often despised person, the English boy in India has within him a greater capacity for usefulness than he has always been given credit for, and anything that the East India Association can do to sustain and develop interest in him will, I believe be well worth the doing

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday November 21, 1921 at Caxton Hall Westminster, S.W. 1 at which a paper was read by the Rev Oswald Younghusband entitled 'The English Boy in India'. The Right Hon Lord Meston KCSI LL.D. occupied the chair and the following, amongst others were present The Right Hon Lord Lamington GCMG GCIE Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate Bart CSI CMG MP Sir Frank C. Cates KCIE CSI Sir William Ovens Clark Sir Herbert Holmwood Mr F. H. Brown CIE Mr W. Coldstream KCH Lady Kensington Miss F. R. Scatcherd Khan Bahadur A. M. Dalal Mr B. C. Vaidya Mr F. J. P. Richter Mrs Drury the Rev Dr W. Stanton the Rev Frank Penny Captain Roberts Mr A. Gillespie Mr H. J. R. Hemming Mrs Collis Mr Cowell Mrs Walsh Miss Nina Corner Mr P. H. de la Terre Mrs Reid and Mr Stanley P. Rice Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen the paper which we have met to hear this afternoon is possibly a little out of the ordinary run of the papers which we generally listen to at this Association but on that account alone and still more on account of the zeal and enthusiasm which lies behind it as you will appreciate when you have heard the paper I am sure it will receive your sympathetic attention. It is in reality part of a campaign which Mr. Younghusband is carrying on for the benefit and improvement of our own kith and kin in India. It is quite unnecessary for me to introduce Mr. Younghusband to you. For many years he has engaged himself as you are all aware in the interests of our people in India and at present he is spending his hard earned furlough and too brief leisure in trying to get established a university hostel at Lahore. Without further ado I will ask Mr. Younghusband to read his paper.

The Lecture was then read and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen we hear in this Association from time to time various points of view in regard to India and its needs and we hear a great deal about its extraordinarily diverse educational requirements. The topic which has been presented to us by Mr. Younghusband this afternoon is as we expected it would be somewhat of an unusual character and I think we ought to be grateful to Mr. Younghusband for the extraordinarily fairminded lucid and convincing manner in which he has described the conditions of a particularly difficult problem. There are many reasons why our sympathies would justly and legitimately be with him this afternoon. There are three reasons which stand straight in the forefront of the paper. In the first place the existence of this special class for whom Mr. Younghusband pleads is our own fault—I do

not say the fault of those in this room, but the fault of their forefathers in India, and of the administration in India generally. He has pointed out that in the early days owing to the condition of things, there was a great deal of cross-breeding. As a race we are responsible for that. Then we have continuously allowed, and very often encouraged, either directly or indirectly by the difficulties of their getting back to England, the settlement of Europeans in India—men of the European soldier type—men who have gone out there as artisans or otherwise on low pay, got married and settled there, and became incapable of returning and taking up their English domicile. That is the first reason why we should feel a special responsibility for the domiciled descendants of Englishmen. Then their condition in many respects is not satisfactory. I do not think it is known outside India how large and considerable a population of poor Europeans, Anglo-Indians or Eurasians, or whatever you may choose to call them there is in the large towns of India, nor is it realized how impoverished they are. It is quite true aspersions may be cast upon their lack of thrift, but the fact remains that they are living in very impoverished circumstances. And they are also liable to serious internal dissensions. My own experiences in attempting to get established a hostel in another part of India somewhat similar to what Mr. Younghusband is now advocating in Lahore, were decidedly disappointing. The domiciled community set out to raise for this purpose a very substantial sum of money and succeeded very well up to a point when disagreement arose and contributions ceased. What had been raised fell short of what the local Government considered was sufficient to warrant the establishment of a hostel and I believe the foundation stone of that hostel still stands in the middle of a ploughed field. And yet the first necessity for removing this poverty and inability to combine is more and better education, and in that necessity we have a second reason why we should do what we can to help our kith and kin in India. There is a third reason—a very difficult one to touch upon without getting into politics, and politics are very rightly barred at these meetings. I venture to think that, when Mr. Sastri put the Socratic question which Mr. Younghusband quoted in the paper—he knew exactly the answer which was going to be given—and he put it for the purpose of getting that answer and using that answer when necessary. Now it is from the Indian point of view a very difficult proposition to defend that the Indian taxpayer should use his money for the education of a community which declines to participate in the Indian nation and should use for that purpose a relatively larger sum of money than for the education of his own nationals. The time may come, and I hope it will come when these racial discrepancies which at present make India and its national life so difficult, will largely vanish when the English boy educated in India will be as proud of his Indian nationality as the Hindu or Mohammedan, but that time is not yet. Until however it does come, and so long as the domiciled community in India definitely and it may be, sometimes a little ostentatiously, stands outside, I think it is upon us to relieve the Indian taxpayer of some part of the cost of their education. Those are the three

arguments which appeal to me for supporting very strongly the campaign which Mr Younghusband has come over to this country to inaugurate I see in this audience several who have done splendid service for the domiciled community in India and I know we are addressing a converted audience, let everyone of us use whatever influence we have to promote the cause which Mr Younghusband has so ably pleaded and allow him to go back to Lahore with the feeling that he has succeeded (Applause)

I am requested to invite discussion but before general discussion takes place I should like to ask Miss Scatcherd to read two letters which I understand, are in her possession

Miss F R SCATCHERD said that Dr Pollen had followed his usual practice of sending a letter for the meeting and she would just like to read the part that referred to Mr Younghusband's paper which was as follows

The Lecturer seems to have been told many queer things about Indian British boys and to have said many queerer things to boys and fathers in India and in England Things must certainly have changed a great deal in India since I last visited it ten years ago if British boys in India are looked down upon and called unsatisfactory names because they have been educated in Indian schools

I seem to remember that Rudyard Kipling received his early education in Bombay—before he and my friend General Lionel Dunsterville (the original of 'Stalky') were school fellows at Weston super Mare and I never remember any of the St Xavier or Byculla schoolboys being looked down upon or regarded with scorn because their schools happened to be in India

Of course we all know that 'a hundred and fifty years ago a journey to India took a long time and that some Englishmen married Indian wives and that it is not the usual custom at the present day for Englishmen to marry Indian wives But I have never heard any of the descendants of these marriages (and I have met many) declare that they wish to be apart from Englishmen—but could leave Englishmen to look about and provide for the education of their own boys

Again I have never heard of Englishmen or Indians losing their identity by settling in the other country

I fear I cannot quite follow the point the Lecturer makes about British artisans in India considering that if India is to be ruled by the Labour Party in England it will be the end of all things.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE said he entirely agreed with what the Lecturer had told the meeting as to the large number of British born boys there were in India whose parents could not afford to send them home to be educated and how absolutely necessary it was that the best should be done to provide for the education of those boys in India He could also quite realize what the Lecturer had said about boys brought up in India wishing to return there For instance, boys brought up in India who came home and passed for the army generally wished to get into the Indian Army and to return to India He thought everybody wherever born as a rule wanted to return to their native place, and especially in the case of India, where boys born and brought up there understood the people in the country so well With regard to the Lecturer's remarks

as to the provision of university hostels for Indian students and not for English students, the Chairman had told the meeting of the difficulty there must be in getting the Indian taxpayer to provide money for the education of European children in India. It was a difficulty which had become apparent to all. In the papers the other day he had noticed a telegram from India saying that a Provincial Legislative Council had recommended that in future no grants in aid out of the Provincial revenues should be given to European schools which did not throw open admission to Indian students unreservedly and which did not provide facilities for the residence and boarding of Indian students. That was an action unprecedented in India and one which all must take cognizance of. It was an example of the feeling in the Provincial Legislative Councils of to-day, and we had to look forward to the time when financial control would be more and more given to the Legislative Councils and if the present bitter feeling continued these Councils would endeavour to stop all grants to European schools. Personally, he thought that the domiciled Europeans who made India their residence were as much entitled to grants for their schools as the Indians were for theirs. (Hear hear) He thought that the policy which had hitherto prevailed should be maintained, and that grants should be given equally to Indians and to Europeans domiciled in the country but he was sorry to say that owing to the racial animosity amongst Indians which had grown up in India of late and which according to the papers, was growing stronger and stronger day by day the probability was that all European schools would have their usefulness curtailed year by year as time went on. It was to be hoped that the spirit of racial antagonism amongst Indians would gradually die down but in his opinion European schools ought to have a claim on the Government of India for a continuance of the grants that they had hitherto been enjoying and every opposition should be offered to this action on the part of the Legislative Councils. With regard to the Lecturer's remarks to the effect that had Labour leaders when they came to India gone in the first instance to British artisans in India carefully studied their problems and difficulties and having done so laid them before the Trade Unions in England they would have had little difficulty in carrying British artisans with them in a sympathetic grasp of Indian affairs it must be remembered that these Labour leaders went out to India solely for political purposes their mission had nothing whatever to do with Labour or with Trade Unions. They went out solely for the purpose of meeting the Indian agitators they associated solely with them and he did not suppose that any Labour leader ever visited any of the railway workshops or other works in India where British labour was employed, or had done anything whatsoever to help the British working man. (Hear hear) In the House of Commons he had noticed the same failing of Labour leaders to help their countrymen in the case of Russia. When in Petrograd and Moscow he was very proud to see the number of British artisans who held good posts in the cotton mills and other works out there but when the Bolshevik Revolution came all those English men, women and children

were reduced to absolute beggary, they were rescued by the Government with difficulty and many of them were now in the workhouse—they never had a word of comfort from any Labour leader. When the matter came up in the House of Commons, he heard a Labour leader say: Let them go to the workhouse. They did nothing to help their own countrymen or their own class but did all they could to help the Russian revolutionists. He thought the Lecturer when he said what he did, spoke to the point, and that no help could be looked for from the Labour leaders in this country. He was glad to have heard from the Chairman how he had tried to establish a university hostel in his Province but was sorry to hear that he had failed. The number of British working men in India was increasing and their families were increasing. As he had said before he thought the children would probably want to stay in India and what was to be done to help them was a very difficult problem. He could only join with the Chairman in saying that all must try to do what they could. (Applause)

LORD LAMINGTON asked the Lecturer if he could give any idea as to what number of British youths there were who would avail themselves of such a hostel as proposed and whether the numbers were large or diminishing. He presumed the number was diminishing because not so many Englishmen were marrying Indians and because of the greater facilities for sending boys home for commerce training in this country. He did not know whether Colonel Yate's statement that it was the common instinct to return to the country in which one was born was quite accurate. He undoubtedly thought that sympathy ought to be extended to those who had their domicile in India and that every facility ought to be given to them to have their training in India if they so desired. Whether it was possible in these days of financial stringency to establish a fund for that purpose remained to be seen but it seemed to him that nowadays the Government took three quarters or more of one's income for their most excellent purposes and every day some scheme was being brought forward which was absolutely impracticable. He thought the Government of India should realize that they had a certain responsibility towards those who had gone out to assist in the administration and development of India and in that way something might be done to secure a hostel for those who were unable to come home for their education. (Applause)

REV DR WITBRECHT STANTON said the question: What could be done for the British boy in India? had been treated from the side of education. In respect of that the Chairman had touched the heart of the question when he pointed out that the future position of the English boy in India would largely depend on his attitude towards the Indian national movement. If he being already a statutory native of India could learn to identify himself with Indian aspirations, he might get on very well but if he did not he would have a very difficult time indeed. As an examiner in Urdu for the Cambridge Senior and Junior Local Examinations the speaker had had occasion during several years to observe the attitude of

the Anglo-Indian boys and girls towards the leading Indian vernacular. From hundreds of papers it was abundantly evident that, although they could talk volubly and effectively to Indians in the country, their Urdu grammar and composition was lamentably and glaringly defective. That was due to the fact that they had been brought up to despise the vernacular and to imitate English blunders and barbarisms lest they should be taken for 'natives.' Such an attitude must be extremely detrimental to their success in life. If they would not put themselves into tune with the language which expressed the thought of the country how were they going to get a position in that country? We needed to change the atmosphere of education for the Anglo Indian boys, and to imbue them with an esteem for the language and literature of India and for the great country in which their lot is cast. Such a change of mental direction would do much towards helping Anglo-Indian youth to find such a touch with their environment as would render their futures more tolerable. Another question with reference to the nature of Anglo Indian education the speaker asked with more diffidence because he had not had such direct touch with it. Many of those present might be aware of the Commission sent out last year to India from the various missionary societies to investigate village education. After touring the whole country their leading recommendation was that greater facilities should be provided for vocational education which would really fit the children for their prospective calling in life. Do we not need to do more in this direction in the education of Anglo Indian children so that this element of the Indian population may have an honourable place in the community for the services which it would be fitted to render to the community? (Applause)

Rev FRANK PENNY said he gathered from the paper that Mr Young husband was making an effort to cure a great mistake which had been made in the past. Of course everybody felt that there was something wrong. One knew what the education given to the domiciled community in India was and most people would like to know how to make it better. He thought that the only way to arrive at a proper conclusion was to go back to the history of the matter and see how it was that the train so to speak went off the line. Up to 1853 there was no difficulty for the Anglo-Indian or the East Indian as he was then called to get employment. He was the recognized person who came midway between the European on the one hand and the native of the country on the other. He was able to speak their language and be a very useful go between between the two. Then came the Education Act and by degrees (it was a gradual movement which was never intended) the Eurasian lost his position as a go-between and instead of being found as a superintendent in every office he was found to be ousted by the better educated Indians, for whose education the Government paid. That has been going on for the last sixty or seventy years, gradually the native of the country has become better educated than the Eurasian, he can talk English better, he is more intelligent. He has gone through a college where there are good teachers whereas the Eurasian only had education which would enable

him to become a good clerk, and, because of these differences the Eurasian lost his place and the native stepped into it. It seemed to the speaker that, as there was an effort at the present time to improve matters, it was necessary to take notice of how the difficulty originally began in order to find out how to cure it in the future. To his mind the only possible way of curing the difficulty was to get first rate schools started in India which would enable the Anglo Indians to be as well educated as the natives of the country with whom they were competing. Whether this was done by means of hostels or by any other means the same conclusion would be arrived at and there would be a well-educated Anglo Indian community which would be able to protect its own interests. He stated that amongst other Associations the Indian Church Association had sent out about £5 000 a year—the Laidlaw Committee had sent a similar amount—for the education of the Anglo-Indians so that really there was a good deal being done in England for the education of the Anglo Indians and it remained for them to rise to the position which it was hoped they would occupy. He was aware that the Chairman had particular ideas on the subject as to whether the Government should help in the scheme but it was a large question on which there was something to be said on the other side. As an analogy he recalled the fact that when the Bishopric Bill was passed in 1813 the East India Company condemned and opposed it at first because they did not consider that their profits should be used for religious purposes. There was a large meeting of the Proprietors who protested against the passing of the Bill because it was a wrong use of the money which ought to be distributed amongst themselves. Then certain alterations were made in the Bill, and it was made clear first of all that the Bishops and Chaplains to be appointed were not to be paid out of the taxes at all and secondly that they were not to be paid out of the profits of the Company but that they were to be paid out of the territorial revenues. What was said was: We as the owners of an estate in England derive from our tenants such and such an income we have a right to expend that income as we please and if we appoint a chaplain for our personal benefit we will do so and whatever we pay we will pay out of our territorial revenues. The position of the East India Company in India was the same as the landowner in England. That was another way of looking at the question. The Government of the country had to do the best it could considering that it had to govern a large number of people of different religions different tastes different habits and different desires what they had to do was to try and act as honestly and independently as possible and do the best for every person that they ruled over. That was a point which he would like to have considered when trying to solve the difficult question raised. In conclusion he wished Mr. Younghusband all luck in his efforts.

The SECRETARY said that, with reference to the Chairman's suggestion that it is extremely difficult to ask the Indian tax payer to pay for the European schools, he did not think it was very easy to divide up taxation

into watertight compartments, and say that you would not pay for this and that and would pay for the other, and, if it was a question of more or less vague give and take, possibly the Indian might be met by the argument that the British boy in India comes largely from the artisan class, and that British artisans had originally come out to India for the benefit of India herself. As an example he instanced the Tata Steel Works at Jamshidpur where a very large number of the higher staff positions were manned by Europeans. If Europeans went out to India to assist in the great industrial enterprises it did not seem to him altogether fair that India should do all the taking and nothing of the giving. The fact that the Englishmen were out there and very likely would have families out there, must be accepted and it hardly seemed fair to take all that the artisan has to give to India and then say 'Your children may go hang for all I care. With regard to the other argument which Sir Charles Yate used that it was a mere matter of policy and that the present tendency was for the Indian to cut down all his grants that was a fact which possibly his argument might not be sufficient to meet but if it was desirable to encourage the English boy to accept Indian nationality, surely the worst possible way was to establish schools which accentuated that nationality. It seemed to him that the proper way of meeting the difficulty was to have mixed schools. If the Indians say that they will not give any grants to European schools which will not admit Indians the retort is that English boys must be admitted into Indian schools. Possibly Indians would accept that but then the customs were so different that it would be extremely difficult for an English boy to adapt himself to Indian customs and the consequence would be that, in spite of all that could be done he would remain English whether in an Indian school or an English school.

Mr W. COLDSIREAM speaking as an old official who had resided for many years in the Punjab said he thought there was a great obligation to act in the manner suggested by the Lecturer. There was a lack of higher education for the domiciled English boy and for the Eurasian or Anglo-Indian boy and it was necessary to provide that in some kind of way. There was a great obligation a great need and a great encouragement. Young Anglo Indians have done well in the past considering the measure of education available. He remembered in the Punjab a family of five or six boys who all went to Bishop Cotton's School in Simla all of whom attained success in life and several rose to very responsible posts in the administrative or judicial service of Government. The young fellows were there and if suitable education was provided a great work would be accomplished, not only to their own benefit but to the benefit of the Empire.

The LECTURER in reply said that as to what Dr Stanton had said about the need for vocational training the whole object of the hostel was to enable boys to get that professional training which they so much stood in need of, and for which there was an increasing desire on the part of the boys themselves. He did not advise boys necessarily to leave India but, on the other hand, he thought it best for them not to get in such positions

that it would be impossible for them to do so. His advice to boys was to get such professional training that would be equally useful to them either in India or overseas. In answer to Lord Lamington's question as to whether, if mixed marriages are infrequent at the present time the number of boys at the European schools was decreasing he did not think that the English population attending these schools was decreasing and with the increased cost of sending boys to England it might be on the increase. There were, no doubt, some men in high positions who had been educated in India who had wished to forget the fact that they had been educated in India. He was sure everybody would wish the rising generation always to be proud of their schools. To be strictly accurate, they were English and Anglo-Indians but they were our own kith and kin and he preferred to call them both alike English. He agreed with what Sir Charles Yate had said about boys brought up in India wishing to return there. He had had letters from boys who had left India, telling him that they had enjoyed their time in India and looked forward to coming back again.

With regard to the Indian question he personally thought that if possible it was best for English boys to be educated by themselves at the school stage. Those who had done so got on perfectly well with Indian undergraduates when they came to meet them at the university stage. Indians sometimes had a feeling that they were excluded from English schools. Possibly it would meet the wishes of Indians in the matter by having schools of their own under English management.

A point that had to be realized was what Lord Meston had called attention to that the Indian not unnaturally did not wish there to be any preferential treatment. The fact that English masters and boys adopted an English style of living which was on the whole more expensive than an Indian style of living had sometimes led to higher grants but it was natural that that argument would not carry weight with Indian public opinion. More money would therefore be required from voluntary sources. This should not be left to retired officials but the general body of people in England should support the education of English boys in India. In conclusion he said that he was very much obliged to the East India Association for giving him the opportunity of speaking and to Lord Meston for so kindly taking the chair. (Applause.)

On the motion of Sir HERBERT HOLMWOOD a very cordial vote of thanks to Lord Meston for presiding and to the Lecturer for his able paper was carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen the Lecturer and I jointly express our obligations to you. If I may just add one word to the discussion I hope there will not be any misunderstanding as to what a hostel is. It is a university hostel that Mr. Younghusband wants to promote, it is not a machine for primary or secondary education. It is simply a method by which boys studying at a college essentially and primarily an Indian college will be able to live and carry on their studies at a hostel set apart to suit their habits of life. That is done for Hindus, that is done for Mohammedans and Parsees, and there is no reason why it should not be done for Anglo-Indians. (Applause.)

THE LIQUOR QUESTION IN INDIA

BY JOHN POLLEN, C I E , K I H

"MAN being reasonable must get drunk So sang Byron long ago, declaring that the 'best of life' is but "intoxication'

If this be true then the peoples of India must be most "unreasonable and they have missed the best of life from the poets point of view, for speaking generally, Indians seldom if ever get drunk, and they know comparatively little of the joys of "intoxication

Thus, although the Indian revenue from excise continues to rise (as temperance reformers are never tired of pointing out) India is the last country in the world which calls for compulsory teetotalism or requires to be rendered forcibly dry. The majority of the people do not habitually drink spirits and the quantity of alcohol consumed in the land per head of population is comparatively insignificant

Indeed, on the whole, it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that the inhabitants of India generally are an abstemious and very temperate people and there is certainly no need to attempt to dragoon or tyrannize them into sobriety. The Hindus are naturally sober, and the Moslems, if true to their faith, are pledged to abstain from intoxicants. Thus though the land is one in which liquor flows freely and in which a man can raise a thirst the drink evil is nothing like what it is in some nations of the West.

Therefore, the policy that

"Because A gets drunk when he s the chance,
B must not touch a glass

would prove even more preposterous and disastrous in India than in the great, so-called ' free countries in which ' Prohibition has obtained with such lamentable consequences to all Were an attempt made to introduce this prohibition system into India, it can hardly be doubted that it would tend to make India drunk instead of ' sober," and would bring with it all the evils which Lord Northcliffe has so graphically described as attendant on Prohibition in the United States of North America It would raise a false thirst, and a demoralizing era of "subterfuge evasion, law-breaking and humbug would soon arise' For it is well known that in almost all parts of India intoxicating drinks—if desired or required—can be obtained with the greatest possible ease They can be manufactured from mhowra flowers in the forests and jungles, from sugarcane and molasses and grain in the villages, and can be drawn in the shape of "toddy (tadi), from cocoanut and date trees and palms of almost every variety without toil or trouble There are of course parts of India which have always been more or less dry, but on the other hand, there are parts which have never been and never will be anything but 'wet So to attempt to enforce Prohibition throughout India would require armies of extra police and additional revenue officers and wholesale oppression and corruption would inevitably result, in spite of India's innate sobriety

No whatever steps may or can be taken to prevent the spread of intemperance in India, compulsory repression is certainly not one of them It would prove a curse and could not possibly succeed Such treatment is only fit for children or savages, and Indians are neither the one nor the other In their case "Prohibition would become a degrading tyranny, and an ineffectual tyranny at that ' Force is no remedy and, in this case, force would need a kind of Spanish Inquisition to render it of any avail whatsoever

It is only by stimulating and reviving the religious habits

and sentiments of the Moslems, and rousing the Hindoos against the use of alcohol and narcotics, that any real progress in temperance can be hoped for. Indians must be raised and encouraged—not bullied and oppressed, or hounded into total abstinence.

The temperate peasantry and working classes in India, as elsewhere, have a clear right to get decent liquor at a reasonable price if they require it, but it should be supplied under conditions that will reduce consumption to the lowest possible level, and discourage adulteration, intoxication, and all excess. And these were certainly the conditions under which the Abkari Department worked in Bombay from very early days, for I well remember that, when I handed over charge in Bombay,

In the first year of him who first
Was Emperor and King

the established and settled policy of the Department was to minimize the consumption of intoxicating drinks (a) by restricting the number of shops, and (b) by raising the duty upon liquor as high as it could be raised without running the risk of stimulating illicit production to such a degree as would increase instead of diminishing the total consumption.

This policy (after the elimination of vested interests in the Liquor Trade) 'of minimizing temptation amongst those who did not drink and discouraging excess amongst those who did' was initiated by Sir Charles Pritchard (the first Bombay Abkari Commissioner) and was consistently followed up to and during my time, and even extreme temperance reformers and rabid calumniators of Government have been obliged to admit that liquor was taxed 'higher and higher every year,' and that the number of liquor shops had been 'materially diminished. But, in spite of this, there are still persistent detractors of the Administration who continue to assert that from the very first the *sole* object of the Government has been to enhance the revenue, and that the last thing Government

really desire is a diminution in the total consumption—“their *sole* interest being merely to collect as much revenue as possible from the sale of drink’

This was certainly not the case in my time, for I remember distinctly that in 1899 I pointed out, as forcibly as I could that under what was known as the “Pritchard system of Excise Administration” the following advantages had been gained

(a) The growth or revival of vested interests in the Liquor Trade—adverse to those of the Government and of the public—had been suppressed and prevented

(b) Complete administrative control and supervision over manufacture and sale had been established, and

(c) The consumers and public were not left to the tender mercies of speculating contractors or unscrupulous shopkeepers

Under this system it was possible to make sure—

1 That those who required it got pure, wholesome, unadulterated liquor at a fair and reasonable price.

2 That undue consumption was discouraged

3 That poorer class purchasers were protected against possible extortion and the wiles and tricks of distillers and retailers

In other words administrative control and effective regulation were the main points of the Bombay District Monopoly System the object of Government being to secure the minimum of consumption with the maximum of revenue

In working out and elaborating this system the Department succeeded in securing, by means of sealed tenders, the co-operation of Indian gentlemen of experience ability and recognized integrity and position (as contractors for the manufacture and sale of country liquor) who worked in close accord with the police and revenue and excise officers in detecting smuggling repressing illicit distillation and in strictly supervising shopkeepers and preventing intoxication, use of short measures, adulteration and other malpractices.

It would have been extremely difficult for Government to have controlled the Liquor Trade without such skilled assistance and in Bombay the Department was particularly fortunate in securing the co-operation of highly respectable and well-known Indian gentlemen, and such a system as putting up liquor farms and shops to indiscriminate public auction sales and disposing of them to the highest bidder did not then prevail. Farms were entrusted to responsible contractors and it was hoped that by raising the duty on liquor to as high a point as possible undue consumption would be checked and prevented. It is perhaps a pity that Government did not raise the duty higher and restrict the hours more than they did for it may be noted that this not unreasonable hope, that raising the price and reducing the hours would check consumption was certainly justifiable, seeing that a reduction in consumption (though not in revenue) certainly resulted in the United Kingdom during the Great War from the imposition of higher duties and it is well known that by the enhancement of price and curtailment of hours of sale Mr. Lloyd George's Government did more for the cause of temperance and the discouragement of the consumption of alcohol than the whole host of Temperance Reformers had ever accomplished before. But in India unfortunately it was found (and must be admitted) that in spite of the rise in duty, consumption considerably increased—the gross excise revenue in two Provinces having more than doubled in ten years the smallest increase being in the Punjab and amounting to fifty-one lakhs and the maximum increase in Madras, amounting to over two crores and ten lakhs.

This increase is undoubtedly great and is much to be deplored. But is it true that it was due 'solely to the policy of Government' and that the excise policy pursued by Government has been with a view *solely* to enhancing the revenue?

Now, on this point I tried to get recent information direct from India and from non-Government sources, and this is

what an old Indian friend of high integrity and prolonged experience (who, like myself, earnestly desires to discourage the drinking habit) writes

The increase in drink is chiefly due to the encouragement the labour class is getting. The more you try to improve their position by increasing their wages and cutting down their hours of work, the more they take to drinking. Before, therefore, encouraging them to go on strikes and reducing their hours of work and supporting their demand for increased wages some arrangement should be made or promise taken from them with the consent of Government that they should avoid drinking as far as possible or restrict it within certain limits. By the adoption of this course their position will improve and not otherwise.

My friend adds that he has come to this conclusion "after careful consideration and personal experience, and frequent contact with labourers bricklayers carpenters and others." At present he declares "These men earn from Rs 2 to Rs 5 a day each and most of their family members are also wage earners. My friend may know of cases where such wages have been earned, but, though it is well known that wages have doubled or trebled, it would not do to accept these figures as a general statement.

Again he writes "The more you encourage the labour class the more the consumption of liquor will correspondingly increase. Day labourers such as ordinary coolies their wives bricklayers carpenters, mochies ghanchies all have raised the rate of labour nearly four times above that they used to get formerly. He notes that an ordinary coolie up country now gets Rs 1 As 4 a day and in Bombay from Rs 2 to Rs 3 a day, while artisans are paid from Rs 4 to Rs 5 a day. This may be an over statement, but "these men" he adds "with such wages have no proper clothes to put on, or anything left with them in the morning to buy food. All they get is spent in drinking. Formerly they used to drink once in the evening, but now twice, once at the recess time and subsequently in the evening. All the family members are

wage-earners, so that their joint income has now considerably increased, but they spend more than half of that portion in drink, and so very little is left to them for food and clothes. He quaintly concludes that 'before the advocates of improving the status of the labour class advise the labourers, artisans, etc., to raise their wages, they should have, in the first place, seen to this drink evil. Unless therefore some such arrangement is made it is impossible to stop it as the drink craze is very great.

From these simple statements of fact by an intelligent Bombay observer (which correspond closely with others ascertained from Madras and the Punjab), it would seem that the doubling of the excise revenue has curiously synchronized with the trebling and quadrupling of the wages formerly earned by the Indian labourers and artisans. From all this it may reasonably be inferred that the remedy lies, not in Prohibition, but in raising and educating the working classes, and in encouraging temperance by every means possible amongst them. And in this Government ought undoubtedly to take an actively earnest part by enlisting the sympathy and support, not only of influential Indians but also of the labourers themselves and their families, and of all practical temperance reformers. Otherwise there is danger of the mischief spreading throughout temperate India. Honest and true temperance workers are always ready to help but no good can come from railing at and bringing false charges against the British Government. It was not the British Government that introduced drinking into India, nor is it fostering the drink trade for the sake of revenue. Yet the Rev Mr C F Andrews and other well-meaning fanatics recklessly assert that the drink evil has been "foisted upon the Indian people against their will by the British Government merely for the sake of revenue, and that "the evil now flourishes under the fostering care of the Excise Department, and like a parasite lives and thrives on the life of the nation. Indeed, I myself heard the late Mr Tilak

tell a temperance audience in Caxton Hall that the British Government were the first to introduce drinking into India. This was certainly not true, and Mr Gandhi himself has had the honesty to admit that the drink evil existed in India long before the advent of the British. So it is quite false to maintain that "the British Government inflicted on the people of India the undoubted evils of drink" or to pretend that the Excise Department is forcing intoxication on a reluctant people for the sake of the revenue derived therefrom. Nor is it true that excise is a necessary and indispensable source of revenue, and that Government cannot get on without it. Government could dispense with it, but there can be no reason why the profits from the manufacture and sale of liquor, etc. should go untaxed, or that vested interests in the Liquor Trade should be created, revived, or continued so that all profits should pass into the hands of private persons or exploiting firms and crafty speculators. This would simply mean the transfer of revenues which should belong to the public to private pockets. If (as has been pretended) 'by the abolition of the Excise Department India could have in its hands the money it now spends unproductively on drink,' this would, no doubt, be an excellent thing, and the Department should be got rid of at once. But would the abolition of the Department and the removal of all control prevent people who want to get drink from getting it? or would it prevent the revival of the old out still or unlicensed systems under which smuggling, illicit distillation, and all the old malpractices to the detriment of the poor flourished? Any one who understands Indian excise conditions realizes that it would not. No, it is improvement and not abolition that is required, and there seems to be little doubt that there is room for improvement in the Department, and by abolishing indiscriminate auction sales, by rationing liquor shops under a fee system, by diminishing temptations, and by repressing abuses that still survive, much could no doubt be done to help and encourage the cause of true temperance.

It ought to be possible to convert many of the dark liquor shops, saloons, and drinking dens, into open-air booths or into pleasant and respectable places of refreshment on the Continental plan, where customers with their wives and families could obtain food and fruit and non-alcoholic drinks if they so desired instead of toddy and ardent spirits, and it would be well to try to open cold-drink shops as a kind of counter attraction in close proximity to the country liquor shops and in competition with them

Furthermore, seeing that India can produce wholesome liquors of its own including beer and even wine duties on sales of European or foreign stimulants and alcoholic concoctions might be raised and everything possible done to give preference to Indian productions

In the Excise Department itself a further long-delayed reform seems urgently necessary, and that is the proper and liberal payment of the subordinate staff. These subordinates should be placed as far as possible beyond the reach of temptation, and should be clearly made to understand that the chief part of their duty is not merely the detection and repression of smuggling and illicit distillation and other abuses, but also the discouragement of excessive drinking and the fostering of temperance by every means in their power. Much too could, no doubt be done to help to enforce temperance by—

- (a) Curtailing the hours of sale
- (b) Limiting the quantity supplied to each person
- (c) Strictly enforcing the closing hour and by other provisions which experience may suggest

I have shown that it is false to assert that England introduced drinking into India, and it is doubly false to say that the British Government desires, or ever desired to encourage drinking for the sake of revenue or that it is "shameless enough to exploit the sins of the people for this purpose. Government desire, and have always desired the sobriety and well being of the people of India, and there is no reason whatever why the Excise Depart-

ment should not work cordially with Temperance Reformers provided the latter do not interfere with the liberty of the subject or strive to demoralize the people by the tyrannous imposition of Prohibition. I approach the subject from the stand point of an earnest Temperance Reformer.

"India sober" may mean "India free." But "India compulsorily dry" would mean "India enslaved" and would make it simply intolerable for Indians (with or without Swaraj). Prohibition in India on the American plan would certainly prove a positive curse to every one concerned. And this curse would be rendered twice accursed by interference and excited excesses such as those of Mr. Gandhi's followers.

But excise administration in India is now a "transferred subject," and it will henceforward be for Indian Legislatures and Indian Ministers to devise the best means to protect the population against undue interference and secure revenue while at the same time discouraging over consumption and intoxication and preventing illicit distillation and other malpractices.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster on Monday, December 12, 1921. Sir W D Sheppard in the chair. A paper by Dr John Pollen C I E, K I H, entitled 'The Liquor Question in India,' was read by F H Brown Esq C I E. The following ladies and gentlemen among others were present: Colonel Sir Charles E Yate Bart, C S I, C M G, M P, Sir Mancherjee M Bhownagree K C I E, Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Miss Scatterd, Mr H Bradley, C S I, Mr J B Pennington, Mr A Porteous C I E, Mr H E A Cotton C I E, General F E A Chamier C B C I E, Lieut Colonel P W O Gorman C M G M D I M S, Lieut. Colonel S H Dantra M D, Mrs Fred Pollen, Mr I N Thakor, Khan Bahadur A M Dalal, Mr and Mrs A. E Duchesne, Mr A F Goodwin, Mr Frederick Grubb, Mr William E Johnson ('Pussyfoot'), Mrs Brett, Miss Turner, Mr J Sladen, Miss Johnston, Mrs M M Whiton, Mr T C Fenton, Mrs Drury, Mr A M McMillan, Mrs S H Firks, Miss Firks, Mr B R Ambedkar, Mr Qadir Husain, Mr H G Chancellor, Mrs Partridge, Baroness Oscar, and Miss de Thoren, Mr E C Emerson, Mr C P Caspersz, Mr J Procter, Watson, the Rev Stuart Churchill, Mrs Collis, the Rev W Cutting, Mr R H H Cust, Mr G M Ryan, Mr H L Leach, Mr F W Westbrook, Mr and Mrs Guiterman, Mr F J P Richter, Mrs Clayton, Baron de Thoren, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary.

Mr F H Brown prefaced the reading of the paper by saying that he had readily assented to Dr Pollen's request to him to fill the gap caused by his unavoidable absence. He did so not because he had any special knowledge of the subject before them that day or as necessarily identifying himself with all the views to which the paper gave expression. Still less did he accept the invitation as feeling adequate to be a substitute for Dr Pollen, for he entirely lacked his elocutionary power and his gifts of eloquence. He was there out of warm regard for the author of a paper who had shown him as he had shown so many others present great personal kindness. He had known Dr Pollen almost since the day when as a youth he landed in Bombay and he had been a constant friend ever since. It was therefore a pleasure to serve him and the Association to which he had devoted so much self-sacrificing effort for a long period of years as honorary secretary. They all recognized Dr Pollen's profound love for India, and it was no more than the obvious fact to those who knew him well that he as he had written to Miss Scatterd, lived in India almost every day. This was in connection with the facile view of some people in India that no one could understand her affairs who had been out of the country for a few years. On the subject before them, at all events, Dr Pollen spoke with special knowledge, he as is well known having been Abkari Commissioner in Bombay for some time before his retirement. In this capacity he had shown his independence of judgment by minuting strongly against proposals which were favoured at the time by higher authority. In this country Dr Pollen had long been a

member of what he called 'the true temperance association — i.e., the Public House Reform Association

The paper was then read

Mr Brown said it might assist discussion if at this stage he supplemented the paper by a few facts as to the existing position. The fact mentioned by Dr Pollen that excise administration was now a 'transferred' subject was a point of great importance for them to keep in mind that afternoon. It meant that excise policy and revenue were within the control of Indian Ministers and the provincial legislatures. It followed that any legislation must be provincial, that the matter must be dealt with by the autonomous provinces and not by all India legislation. Recently in the Legislative Assembly at Simla a motion in favour of temperance measures was not carried in the form in which it was brought forward because Government speakers pointed out that it would not do for the Central Legislature to attempt in any way to dictate to or hamper the provincial governments and legislatures. For this reason the resolution as passed did not go beyond a general expression of favour of temperance measures. Active steps toward reform were being taken in various provinces. The Central Provinces Legislature had passed a resolution declaring prohibition to be the goal to aim at but this was no more than a statement of opinion. In the Punjab a resolution had been passed favouring local option. In Madras a Bill for local option was being promoted by his friend Mr Ramachandra Rao who was recently in this country. In all the provinces the Ministers in charge of the Abkari portfolio were re-examining the excise policy in order to satisfy the local Legislative Councils that all practicable measures were being taken to put down the drink evil and that the moral interests of the people were in no way being subordinated to considerations of revenue. Unhappily while these practical steps were being taken a great deal of intimidation and pressure was being brought to bear upon the people by the non-co-operationists to compel their abstinence from liquor. In his *India Old and New* just published Sir Valentine Chirol had quoted Mr Gandhi as making the extraordinary statement in Bombay that liquor shops must be closed even if it cost rivers of blood. They might contrast such intemperate temperance with the practical review of the difficulties confronting reform and the grave dangers of widespread illicit distillation in the event of the closing of shops made by the Indian Minister of Agriculture in the Punjab within the last few weeks and his appeal for the co-operation in practical ways of temperance reformers.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am indicated as the person who will next address the meeting but I propose to postpone my remarks until later in order that I may see whether the discussion turns on an absolute temperance policy *per se*—drink or no drink—or as to whether the arrangements that are made for the control of the liquor supply in India are satisfactory or not. Those two points are quite distinct. It is quite possible that you may think the one is more important than the other and I would rather like to hear your comments on the paper before I decide whether you wish me to reply on the temperance question absolutely or whether you wish my remarks on this paper that we have just heard read, which is a justification—

and, in my opinion, a somewhat pessimistic justification—of how the actual condition of affairs in India has been dealt with by us. I am told we have here present Mr Johnson who is known to us in England as Mr “Pussy foot Johnson.” He has been to India in the interests of temperance, or for further discovery of the truth, and I am sure we shall be pleased to hear his remarks at the earliest possible moment. (Hear, hear.)

Mr W E JOHNSON said he wished to touch upon one or two points in the paper, the first was the reference to the Rev C F Andrews whom Dr Pollen referred to as a fanatic. That was a most unfortunate expression to use. There was no more loyal Britisher in India than the Rev C F Andrews, and there was no white man in the world who had the love and confidence of the Indian people to the extent that Mr Andrews had. It was like applying the epithet to the President of the United States every member of the Supreme Court and forty seven out of the forty-eight Governors. Dr Pollen had referred to prohibition as degrading and ineffectual tyranny and an attempt to terrorize the Indian people into sobriety. So far as he knew no one wanted to bully and hound the Indian people into total abstinence or sobriety. The great religious teachers in India were teaching people abstinence and sobriety before America was discovered and when England was a wilderness inhabited by savages clothed in the skins of wild animals. There was a spontaneous demand on the part of the Indian people for prohibition, no one who knew any thing about the subject would try to bully or terrorize them. When he was in India people came out in their thousands to encourage the movement. During the ten weeks he was in India he had not found a single paper owned by an Indian which was not in favour of prohibition. The Indian members of the legislative councils were solid for it every single Indian member of the Punjab Council had voted in favour of the local option measure with two exceptions—an official of the British Administration and a minister of excise. He had been told that the measure would take effect in April. The Government had the draft of it. His information was that the demand on the part of the people of the Punjab was so great on the point of prohibition that one half of the Punjab would become dry at once and the other half would go dry very shortly. With regard to the question of prohibition in Ceylon, in one district the vote in favour of local option was 1316 to 18 so that the people of Ceylon were out for protection against the liquor traffic just as they were in India. Dr Pollen's paper told them how the drink habit was increasing. During the few weeks he had been in India he had heard more about violation of the liquor laws, corruption of the police, and the shortcomings of the excise officers than they would hear in months in America. In company with the Rev Norman Bennett he had visited several drink shops in Lucknow in every one of which he found children and in one case arrack was being sold to an eight year-old boy. Again, he had visited a drink shop in Patna, and there were several children there also and the liquor seller was in the act of selling liquor to a small boy. He asked a policeman who was standing outside the shop what he proposed to do in regard to the matter, and he replied “Nothing, it is going on all the time.” They might talk about violations of the law in America, or violations of the

law in England—he had not been in England three months before he had lost his watch—but there were greater violations of the liquor laws in India. It was the protest of the people against these violations and against the existing conditions which had developed the extraordinary demand for the elimination of the whole business. He had only been in India ten weeks, but he had never met such a warm hearted, lovable people on the face of the earth. The demand of the people of the Indians themselves was for prohibition and who should say that they were wrong? (Applause.)

Mr A. E. DUCHESNE said he cordially agreed with the greater part of Dr Pollen's paper. His residence in India had been 130 times as long as that of Mr Johnson and he, therefore, claimed to know something at any rate about the subject. In his opinion they should refrain from anything except the tendering of their cordial advice to those to whom by legislative enactment had been entrusted so many of the functions hitherto reserved to the British race. He begged to suggest to Mr Johnson that ten weeks was not an excessive time in which to gather the opinions of 320 000 000 people of different races and different creeds. He advised Mr Johnson to exercise a modest reticence in putting his opinion forward as to what the real views, wishes, and demands of the Indian races were. They were no more unanimous for prohibition than were the British.

Assuming that the legislative bodies in the various provinces were in favour of local option or prohibition or any other interference with the habits of the people they must recollect that by far the larger number of the people of India were not adequately represented in these assemblies as they were at present constituted. The time had not yet come when the teeming masses of India, hundreds of millions of them, could elect really proper representatives in any form of legislative assembly. (Hear hear.) He had every respect for the legal profession and for no one more than for that ornament of it to whose admirable paper they had listened with such pleasure, but up to the present the majority of the members of the assemblies had been lawyers of some description or another and of course it was the function of the lawyer to live by the law and to make laws to live upon. He therefore asked, Was it right at the present time to contemplate changing by law the habits of the masses in India in obedience to the opinions of those who having regard to their own habits and principles, were not affected at all? It was easy for a Brahmin to assert that other people should follow his example and abstain from the use of any liquor, but it was a different thing when a Brahmin or anybody else assumed the right to compel such abstention by the force of law. Had Mr Johnson heard of the riots in various parts of the country at which Mr Gandhi's perfervid supporters, encouraged by his desire to enforce teetotalism at the point of the sword, had set fire not only to liquor shops but other shops, because they suspected the people who owned them of drinking liquor? Did Mr Johnson think that at a time when there was so much unrest in India it was wise that a question such as the present, which did not affect to any very great extent either the health or the prosperity of the people of India, should be brought forward in obedience to the wishes of a fanatic section of the British, or any other race?—a fanatic being a person who

fixed his attention on one point only to the exclusion of the environment in which that point should in fairness be viewed. Had any such people the right to impose such legislation upon all the teeming millions of India? With all deference to Mr Johnson, it was a matter of indifference to 299 millions out of 300 millions of the abstemious races of India (Applause.)

MR I N THAKOR thought that Mr Johnson had gauged the minds of the Indians much better than any of the Anglo Indians. Both the religions—the Hindu and Islam—had forbidden drink and the Government, pledged to non interference in religious matters, ought not to have touched the liquor trade. The Government was guilty because it was so much under financial stress that it sought sources of revenue irrespective of the moral or immoral character of the source. Whatever it had done was done reluctantly under pressure of public opinion. It was wrong to assert that the Brahmin alone did not want liquor. The warrior class of Kshatriyas, trading class and agriculturists all were against it. Even the lowest of the people admitted unlike the workers in England in the case of beer, that it was an addiction. He had in mind a number of higher class families who had become addicted to drink, and their moral fibre and domestic peace had been ruined. They ought not to treat the question as an isolated question as in England where there is no religious injunction or conventional opinion against it. In India it was considered as bad as adultery. Hence the person got this habit in bad company and the question therefore could not be judged on its merits without the moral and the domestic aspects. The liquor agitation was not due to lawyers. Mr Gandhi had the whole of the feminine and orthodox opinion on his side. The suggestion with regard to terrorizing the people into sobriety was a gross exaggeration. He assured them that there would be no more terrorizing in this case than in that of compulsion in the introduction of primary education.

KHAN BAHADUR A M DALAL said speaking as an Indian of sixty six years of age, he was acquainted with the liquor trade. He had known Dr Pollen since the time when he assumed the position of Commissioner of Customs. He knew what harm the liquor trade had done to India, and he associated himself with what Dr Pollen had said in his paper. Formerly liquor had been drunk by people with demoralizing effects, that was due to the out stills. The out stills had been abolished by the British Government, and central distillation establishments had been created, legitimate checks had been imposed upon the liquor shops, and the drinking hours had been curtailed. At the present time the drinking shops were only open from 10 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock in the evening. The Government of India was introducing legislation to repress drinking. And if the Government of India were to be blamed, what was to be said of those States which were under their own native rulers? Formerly liquor could be bought at the shops in the Native States at a much cheaper price than in the British shops. That had gradually been remedied by the British Government. A further point was that the Government of India, which had sacrificed a large opium revenue for the sake of China, would hesitate in any way to foster intoxication on the part

of their own subjects, it was preposterous to suggest it. At a time when unrest was so prevalent in India it would be a disastrous calamity if by a stroke of the pen or by any legislation total prohibition were to be enforced. It would be impossible in India, where 300 000 000 people had been used to drinking from time immemorial. There had been a great improvement by the introduction of counter attractions. Mr Gandhi wished to close the tea shops, which would be a direct invitation to intoxication. He exonerated the British Government from all blame for encouraging or fostering intoxication. (Applause)

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE M.P. said he was very pleased to hear the speech of Mr Dalal which was a corrective of the very wild and impractical statements made by the previous speaker (Mr Thakor) who seemed to be imbued with the spirit so prevalent in India at the present time that nothing was right except to abuse the British Government. With regard to Mr Johnson he had wound up his speech by saying that he had said all that was worth saying. The question that passed through his mind was whether Mr Johnson had said anything worth saying at all. If prohibition in India were to be dependent for its development on the arguments put forward by Mr Johnson he could not think it would go very far. He had never heard a more immature or impracticable series of statements in his life. A man who had been only ten weeks in India could not presume to represent the opinions of all the people in India. With regard to Mr Johnson's statement that there was not a single news paper in India owned by an Indian which was not in favour of prohibition, the probability was that Mr Johnson had seen no papers but those edited in the interests of Mr Gandhi and he had probably come into contact only with non-co-operators and men of that stamp. It seemed impossible that in the short time at his disposal he could have come into contact with all the great leaders of Indian thought as he stated. No doubt he had travelled about from one place to another and had been interviewed at each place by Mr Gandhi's representatives one after another. Mr Johnson had based his arguments for total prohibition in India on the fact that in one district in Ceylon 1 300 people had voted in favour of the prohibition of toddy but the population of Ceylon so far as he could remember was between four and five millions and the proportion that voted must have been very small. Mr Johnson had stated that the people of India demanded prohibition. What could he know of the demands of the people? He had not seen one millionth part of the 300 000 000 people who lived in India and wild statements of that kind could not carry weight. He (the speaker) supported Dr Pollen's paper which in his opinion was a really practical paper and he hoped it would be well studied in India. (Applause)

Mr A. E. GOODWIN thought that Government officials were not the best people to express opinions upon a question such as the present, because they must look at the matter from their own point of view. He spoke simply as a business man, and not from any detached point of view. The excise revenue had gone up by leaps and bounds within the last twenty years. Every reform with regard to the excise had had to be pressed upon

the Government officials. The out stills had been abolished owing to the agitation of private individuals. In Bengal it had taken a considerable time to secure the reform that no woman should be allowed to sell liquor and that no children should be served with liquor. Every reform had been checked and hindered by the Government officials.

Mr CHANCELLOR thought that the question whether prohibition was the right policy to adopt was a matter for the Indians themselves to decide, and the local councils were capable of rising to the great moral height of sacrificing revenue rather than to allow the liquor trade to continue.

Lieut. Colonel O GORMAN as an Indian Medical Service officer of over thirty years' experience and special study of the subject under discussion, begged to controvert Dr Pollen's view on prohibition. The question of alcohol as a beverage must be regarded fundamentally from two main points—the physical and the moral, the latter connoting the spiritual and the psychological. Influences affecting the body interacted on the soul, and *vice versa*. All religions—especially the Christian, the Hindu, and the Moslem—condemned the abuse of alcohol, and in practical politics the relation of the soul to its Creator could not be relegated to a secondary place, nor could any amount of so-called good compensate for the sin of intemperance. Nor is alcohol in its physical or psychological effects advantageous in any climate and much less so in a tropical one as in India. Alcohol, the principle of all intoxicant liquors, is an *irritant narcotic drug*. This means that the preliminary temporary stimulation is superseded by a prolonged depression of all the functions of the body. But there is one most important result that is of fundamental consequence to the spiritual as well as physical being of man. By a well-known pharmacological law, the latest developments or achievements of the brain and nervous system are the first to be assailed by narcotics, the effect being sedative in small and narcotic in large doses, but both being radically degrees of paralysis. Consequently *the intellect is confounded*, but above all, *the will is undermined* and SELF CONTROL SUBMERGED. Here we see the reason why with every glass of indulgence a man is liable to drink more and more and end in intemperance. And thus a most important result follows—a *habit is formed*. Now as it is notorious that virgin soil is the most susceptible and fructuous, permanently abstinent classes of people are particularly responsive to the seeds of intemperance. And the lower their stage of civilization—that is, their intellectual attainments, their will power and power of self control—the more easily do they succumb. The Indians, like all abstemious peoples, suffer more, and as the masses are very deficient in these mental qualities—passivity moreover being a fatal predisposition—they more readily fall victims to the habit of intemperance. This is a psychological law. In doing so they descend early into degradation and cut themselves off from civilization, sinking to the level of the savage and brute beast. Hence alcohol is obviously an *anti-civilisation drug*. Are we, then, perversely to favour its dissemination among Indians, especially if even those most intimately concerned protest strongly against it—as happened, for one instance, with the khonds? "Prevention is better than cure" is a truism. To give facilities for the

spread of the fire of intemperance, instead of permanently protesting against the source of the conflagration, is what no insurance company would approve. Moreover, why should the curse of "vested interests" Government or private, such as shackles and obstructs all the effects of temperance reforms in Europe and America, be deliberately allowed to be established in India? The time for prohibition is certainly now, and not after the evil has secured a firm foothold.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and Gentlemen the discussion this afternoon has drifted, as I rather expected it would, into the advocacy of total prohibition for the whole of India, and has left alone the more immediate object of Dr Pollen's paper which was the more limited question of liquor control. I do not wish to say much on the subject of total prohibition. I have doubts, in the first place, as to its desirability, and as a practical measure I do not believe that it would be any more easy to establish absolute prohibition in India than it has been found to be in America, or would be found to be in England. I think it will be found impossible in this country and an impossibility in India, too.

I of course deplore anything like excess in drinking and I entirely agree with those speakers who have urged that there are castes in India who distinctly loathe drink and who feel it a disgrace that members of their caste should become addicted to drinking. These, however, are the higher and middle classes only. There is no reason why these people should drink—it is contrary to their religion and contrary to their caste customs, and I would suggest that nothing has been done by the British Government to induce them to depart from their old morality in this matter. Caste is powerful still and can well look after the habits of its people.

The ordinary labouring man comes into a different category. He has always been in the habit of getting a daily dram and after the exhaustion of his labour and in many cases the unhealthiness of the locality in which he has to work—whether on the land or in a factory—it is I think inevitable if not desirable that he should be able to obtain this slight alleviation of his dull and dreary lot. The British Government, as speakers have admitted did not introduce drink or the drinking habit into India. They found it existing over the whole country and it was with the determination to control it, and to ensure that the liquor supplied should be wholesome and good, that they have gradually put a stop to private and now illicit distillation and fixed the localities of the shops at which it may be sold and decided how many such shops there should be. I do not consider that Government is to blame, if, in connection with and in consequence of their control, they have been able to secure for the State a constantly increasing revenue. Such increase has not been due to increased drinking, but rather to the raising of the price at which liquor has been supplied. This is clear from the figures for the Bombay Presidency for the last ten years, which show that throughout the whole of that period the annual consumption has remained at the figure of 26 lakhs of proof gallons, while during the same period the gross excise revenue has increased from 169 lakhs of rupees to 363 lakhs of rupees. There has been a slight diminution in consumption over the whole presidency except in the town

and island of Bombay, the town of Poona, and in a part of Gujarat (including the city of Ahmedabad) The location of shops has been settled in consultation with local advisory committees, and many shops have been closed Every effort has been made to popularize the weaker strengths of liquor, and now there are as many as 600 shops at which liquor of only 60° u p is sold out of a total number of 1 900 shops Only a few years ago the strength of the spirit supplied was rarely less than 25° u p and I would submit that even a hard drinker will not do himself any harm if he limits his drinking to spirit so weak in strength as 60° u p

The hours at which shops may be open for the sale of liquor have also been materially reduced and no one can get a drink in the morning before 10 30 or in the evening later than 8 30

Liquor control in India has now passed into the hands of Indian ministers—excise being a transferred subject—and the legislative assemblies and minister will jointly be responsible for the policy of the future in the matter of drink I trust they will continuously strive for the greatest possible sobriety among the people but I cannot pretend to look forward to sudden prohibition throughout India without serious apprehension and alarm (Applause)

On the motion of Colonel Sir Charles Yate M P seconded by the Rev William Cummings a hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to the Chairman Mr Brown and Dr Pollen

The Chairman having thanked the meeting the proceedings terminated

The following notes from Mr J B Pennington and Mr G M Ryn (who would have spoken had time permitted) have been received by the Hon Secretary

"The discussion on Dr Pollen's paper was so good that there was no need for me to say how thoroughly I agreed with him on the whole, but I should have liked to tell the gentleman who has so honourably acquired the name Pussyfoot two stories I heard the other day from a young friend who spent two months enjoying herself in America this spring The first was that she had never in all her life (not a very long one) seen so many tipsy men as she met at the dances she attended there* and the other was that one man boasted he had laid up liquor enough to last his family for three generations No wonder he, and his like did not worry about prohibition

(Signed) J B PENNINGTON

'Quite three-fourths of the intoxicating liquors drunk in Western and Central India are manufactured from the flowers of the mhowra tree and it seems to me that if it is desired to diminish the consumption of such liquor there one effective way of doing so would under the circumstances be, not by compulsory legislation but by diverting mhowra spirit from its present destiny into other channels if possible such as industrial purposes

* 'I should hope she had never seen an Englishman the worse for liquor at a dance

"It is an established fact that industrial or power alcohol is quite as good if not much better as a liquid fuel than petrol. This the London General Omnibus Company ascertained by experiments made with it some time ago.

In the Nizam's Dominions they are pushing ahead with the manufacture of power alcohol at the rate of about 10,000 gallons daily.

In British India about ten or twelve times that quantity might be manufactured under a system of organized village plantations which the people could be encouraged to take part in.

The Indian Government, however, would probably not view with favour any scheme which tends to reduce their large and increasing excise revenue such as the manufacture of power alcohol instead of potable alcohol would bring about, but any loss of revenue would be more than compensated for probably by the extended rise of motor transport and industrial and agricultural machinery.

'If power alcohol can be manufactured at four to five annas per gallon from mhowra as is now done apparently in the Nizam's Dominions and if its distribution to large centres of consumption could be arranged without interfering with existing railway traffic by means of pipe lines, like petrol in America and palm oil on the West African coast, most people who have the true interests of India's development at heart will agree that the proper destiny of spirit made from the mhowra flower is not potable but industrial alcohol.

An influential and prominent Indian merchant is now considering this question of industrial alcohol manufacture in Bombay. It remains to be seen whether he can successfully overcome the various difficulties that lie in his way before his scheme materializes. (Signed) G. M. RYAN.

The following reply to the above discussion has been received from Dr. Pollen:

I have just seen the shorthand writer's notes of the discussion on my paper and should like to say how very grateful I feel to my friend Mr. Brown for so readily reading the paper for me and to Sir William Sheppard for so kindly taking the chair.

My object in drawing up the paper was to help to protect the good peoples of India and at the same time to disprove and denounce the wicked assertion that the British Government had deliberately fostered and encouraged the drink evil in India for the sake of revenue.

'It was in connection with this assertion that, after reading his pamphlet on *The Drink and Opium Evil*, I incidentally included Mr. C. F. Andrews amongst 'other well meaning fanatics' who insisted that the drink evil in India was due to foreign rulers. Mr. 'Pussyfoot' Johnson would seem to imply that the President of the United States, every member of the Supreme Court of the United States, and forty seven out of forty eight Governors of the United States would agree with this view of Mr. Andrews! But then they do not know India and, whatever may be said, it is *not true* that the British Government ever forced drink for the sake of revenue upon any section of the Indian people.' Khan

Bahadur A. M Dalal, speaking with lifelong experience, has correctly summarized the attitude of the British Government in India with regard to the drink question, and Mr A E Duchesne has ably disposed of most of Mr Johnson's hallucinations.

"The Chairman has so ably dealt with the chief points in the discussion that there remains very little for me to add. He speaks with more recent experience of India than mine and I am glad that he agrees with me that prohibition is an impossibility in India under present conditions. I am also pleased that he was able to show that the total consumption of liquor in India has not increased during the last ten years although the revenue has risen and that Government have been able to reduce the strength of the liquor consumed.

"Mr Pennington's note is most interesting, and Mr G M Ryan suggested a practical way of diminishing the consumption of mhowra liquor by diverting the spirit from its present destiny into industrial channels.

'J POLLEN

THE PRINCE OF WALES'S VISIT TO INDIA

THE following letter was addressed to H R H the Prince of Wales on the eve of his departure for India

TO H R H THE PRINCE OF WALES K G , ETC.

October 7, 1921

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS

On behalf of the East India Association, a body which exists solely to promote the welfare of India and a good understanding between Englishmen and Indians we desire respectfully to wish you Godspeed in your forthcoming historic journey through India. We are well aware that in the changed and changing conditions of the present day there may be difficulties before you, but we believe that the heart of India is sound, and that her people are loyal to the august person of the King Emperor. We are therefore confident that you will find a cordial welcome as the ambassador of peace and good will from His Majesty and the British people, and we know that to no better hands could such an embassy be entrusted. May you return to England filled with that deep love for India and her people which those feel who have had the privilege of serving His Majesty there. That you will plant for yourself a root of abiding affection in Indian hearts we venture to regard as a foregone conclusion.

(Signed)

LAMINGTON *Chairman of Council*

STANLEY P RICE, *Hon Secretary*

[REPLY]

ST JAMES'S PALACE, S W ,

October 8, 1921

MY LORD,

The Prince of Wales desires me to ask you to convey to the East India Association his sincere appreciation of the good wishes expressed in your letter of the 4th October for the success of his journey through India.

It is His Royal Highness's earnest hope that this visit may contribute towards uniting that great country more closely to the British Empire, and it is very gratifying to him to know that so honourable and distinguished an association as yours is in complete sympathy with him

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) A LASCELLES,

Assistant Private Secretary

THE RIGHT HON THE LORD LAMINGTON

G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.

OBITUARY

THE LATE MR T W ROLLESTON AND THE INDIA SOCIETY

BY HARIHAR DAS, F R S L, F R H I S T S

MR ROLLESTON was a man of varied gifts, for while he was a journalist by profession he showed himself at the same time to be both a poet and a philosopher. For his enthusiastic love of India and his service to Indian culture he has merited a place in the front rank. He was prominent amongst those who study Indian art and literature, and his public work did much to bring about that better understanding between East and West which is so much to be desired. Though in other branches of literary activity his name will be cherished, Indians at least will always associate his name with the India Society of which he was one of the originators. His Secretarial work in connection with this Society was of so thorough a nature, and carried out with so much devotion and zeal that he opened the first chapter of its history with a promise of important achievements to come in the sphere of Indian æsthetics. Those who are true sons of the East, and who whether born in East or West reverence the work of Indian poets, artists or litterateurs, will agree that Mr Rolleston's name is worthy to live, and this brief memoir is intended at once as a humble tribute and as a summary of the chief facts of the life of one whom we Indians delight to honour.

Thomas William Hazen Rolleston, who died at Hampstead on Sunday, December 5 1920, was born at Glasshouse Shinrone Kings County, Ireland on May 1, 1857. He was the third and youngest son of Charles Rolleston Spinner Q C County Court Judge for North Tipperary, and of Elizabeth daughter of the Right Hon John Richards Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Ireland. As he was born fifteen years after his brother his early childhood was spent to a great extent apart from companions of his own age. He found scope for his imagination in Nature and books, and made acquaintance with Shelley when he was eight years old. He was educated at St Columba's College Rathfarnham a school built on the slopes of the Three Rock Mountain in County Wicklow. On holidays and Sundays he was free to roam at will, alone or with friends, over the wild and beautiful mountain. He entered Trinity College Dublin in 1874 where, after a brilliant career, he won the Vice-Chancellor's prize for English verse with a lyrical drama "The Feast of Belshazzar," and in 1878 took his B.A. degree. While at College he formed a close writing friendship with the American poet, Walt Whitman, whose works had greatly influenced him at that time. Walt Whitman, who

was always keenly interested in young men's thoughts, ideals, and aspirations, wrote frequently to him, and also presented him with copies of his works. In after life Mr Rolleston always spoke with the deepest gratitude of this friendship. In his younger days he was a good sportsman, and when at College he took up rowing. All through his life he loved the sea and running waters. Once he and a friend of his secured two Rob Roy canoes, and during one of their vacations took a delightful trip from Wicklow Point up to a northern part of Ireland, the risk of the undertaking adding to the excitement of the trip.

After taking his degree at Trinity he went to Germany in 1879 and while there devoted himself to the study of its language and literature and made himself a very efficient German scholar speaking the language fluently. In 1879 he married Edith, daughter of the Rev W de Burgh, D.D., and had as issue three sons and one daughter. His wife was also in Germany with him and while there he learnt to play the zither, a musical instrument of peculiar sweetness. He played it in after life with much enjoyment to himself and to his home circle. Even a few days before his death he was playing Irish airs on this instrument, as he often took it up in the evening as a rest and relaxation after a long day's strenuous brain work. In 1897 he married Miss Maud Brooke daughter of the late Rev Stopford Brooke.

Mr Rolleston, while in Germany translated the "Encheiridion of Epictetus" an excellent vade-mecum of the Stoic Philosophy. This little book soon found its way into the hands and pockets of many an admirer. He also at this time wrote the "Life of Lessing" published in 1889.

Leaving Germany in 1883 he returned to Ireland and took up the editorship of the *Dublin University Review* from May 1885 to December, 1885. W B Yeats, Katherine Tynan and Jane Barlow wrote some of their earliest work in this publication while men of many divergent views such as Michael Davitt, Professor Dowden, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, Douglas Hyde, Standish O'Grady, John O'Leary and others were also frequent contributors to its pages.

In 1892 having settled near London in order to do journalistic work he helped to found the Irish Literary Society.

Mr Rolleston returned to Dublin in 1892 as Secretary of the Irish Industries Association which post he held till 1897 and became later on leader writer of the *Dublin Daily Express* and *Dublin Chronicle* from 1898-1900.

In 1909 he and his family moved from Ireland to England where work was opening out for him in London. Mr Rolleston took up his abode in Hampstead renewed his connection with the Irish Literary Society, lecturing frequently, and writing for the leading monthlies and magazines, and became a valued and regular contributor to *The Times*' Literary Supplement, especially on Oriental subjects. During the war he worked in the Censor's Office, and later acted as Librarian to the Ministry of Information. He "joined up" as a volunteer in the Old Boys Corps, later became a special constable, and then entered the Inns of Court Volunteers.

In 1910 Mr Rolleston, in conjunction with Professor William Rothenstein, Mr Laurence Binyon, Dr T W Arnold, Mr E B Havell, and others, founded the India Society, which "owed its origin to the belief of a body of artists and students that the æsthetic culture of India, more particularly in the provinces of painting, sculpture, and music, had in its elements of beauty and interest which in Europe and even in modern India were too little understood and valued. This body has promoted the study and encouraged the appreciation of Indian art, using that term in its widest sense. It has on suitable occasions, made important representations to the Government. As an instance of this side of its activities, it may be remembered that, when the question of the architecture of the new Delhi was being discussed, the Society pointed out that the spirit of indigenous tradition ought to be considered. Moreover the Society has contributed to the literature of Indian art and encouraged individual effort. In the last connection, the names of Lady Herringham, Professor William Rothenstein, and Mr Laurence Binyon may be mentioned. Among its other notable publications are the poet Tagore's first edition of "Gitanjali" and Dr Coomaraswamy's Indian drawings. It has a list of influential members on the Committee, among whom are Lord Carmichael of Skirling, Mr A H Fox Strangways and others.

Mr Rolleston was the guiding spirit of this Society after he became Secretary on the retirement of Mr Fox Strangways. His keen interest to promote its cause—broad sympathy and wide knowledge in Indian thought and literature—made him an accomplished Secretary. The work of the Society was so near to his heart that he gave gratuitously the last years of his life to its development. He had many plans in his mind which he often expressed with enthusiasm to his friends. The King's speech on the opening of the School of Oriental Studies in which it was declared that "the ancient literature and the art of India are of unique interest in the history of human endeavour" stirred his sympathies and imbued him with the idea of establishing a Lectureship in Indian Art at the School of Oriental Studies. He spared no pains to make his scheme successful by influencing the Indian notabilities and others who were interested in Indian art to contribute to the funds for the purpose.

His home at Hampstead was always a centre of hospitality. Mr Brereton wrote in *The Times Literary Supplement*: "With Rolleston no passwords were necessary. One entered, so to say, an open house and at once felt at home. His amiability and readiness to help his friends either in literary or other spheres were characteristic. Many writers on Oriental subjects found in Mr Rolleston a friend in need in connection with the publication of their works. He gave such aid with the same devotion that he would bring to bear upon his own work. The present writer owes Mr Rolleston a deep debt of gratitude for such assistance."

He made many friends in literary circles, and knew Dr Rabindranath Tagore and other prominent Indians. A friend of forty years standing wrote to Mrs. Rolleston in the following terms: "The charm of his personality and even the gentleness and kindness of his character were, perhaps, not such rare qualities as his absolute sincerity and genuineness."

and transparency, and his desire to get the truth, even if he had to confess himself mistaken. Mr Rolleston had a fascinating style of his own and in this respect he resembled somewhat Stopford Brooke. His writings are delightful, forcible, and straightforward.

It is a sacred duty to perpetuate the memory of such a man, who, by his personal sagacity and practical example, can well be claimed as a friend of India, and the memory of such an exponent should not die. In the Report of the India Society issued December, 1920, and signed by the Chairman, Lord Carmichael, we read "Mr Rolleston's wide sympathies and scholarship his personal distinction and untiring courtesy made him an ideal Secretary, and under his able administration the Society has enlarged the scope of its activities and has steadily increased its membership despite the brake the war necessarily put upon its initiative. No one had the interests of Indian culture more at heart than Mr Rolleston. His loss will be felt far beyond the limits of the India Society. But he regarded his work for us as specially important, and the Committee believe that, in carrying out the plans he himself hoped to bring to fruition, they will be setting up the most fitting tribute to his memory. There can be no finer tribute paid to Mr Rolleston's work in connection with the India Society than this but it may perhaps be suggested as a fitting tribute to his worth that the Society should name the Lectureship on Indian Art at the School of Oriental Studies after him. It is hoped that the patrons of the India Society, both in England and abroad will approve of this by giving their generous help towards the maintenance of the Chair.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

INDIAN ECONOMICS

By G. KEATINGE, C I E

FOR the past twenty years or so the term 'Indian economics' has been in common use amongst public men in India, and books have been published under this title. More recently the term has been used by several Indian universities, and by the Government of India. It is therefore necessary to consider exactly what is implied by it. The term 'economics' has been variously defined but for general purposes it may be taken as denoting the science which concerns itself with the production, distribution and exchange of wealth. It enquires how men produce wealth and how they consume it, and analyzes the motives which govern the production and the use of wealth.

Human needs are of course not a constant factor. They vary from one country to another and from one time to another and as needs vary, so will the devices to supply them vary. It will, therefore be a cause of surprise to no one to find that there are certain peculiarities of Indian industry and trade which arise partly from the physical circumstances of India, and partly from the present stage of material development in that country, and it is probable that, with some people, the term "Indian economics" is intended merely to call attention to the fact that there are many peculiar problems connected with Indian industry and trade which need special study. The term however, implies more than this, and is often used to denote more than this.

The older economists were apt to regard political economy as having a particular field of investigation of its own apart from other branches of social science. Subsequently it was usual to consider economic matters in relation to social, political, and ethical institutions, and it is when considering economic questions with regard to Indian institutions that the term "Indian economics" is often used. There are certain advantages in considering economic questions with reference to national institutions, and at this stage it is only necessary to note that in a country like India, where religious and social observances count for so much,

there is a danger that, in following such a course, the economic side of any problem may be ignored to a great extent.

It is proposed in the first instance to consider briefly some of the physical features which govern production, and the institutions which have been developed in India to meet the situation. It will then be easier to estimate the present economic position in India, and to understand the use which is made of the term "Indian economics."

It is a commonplace statement that the industry of any country is governed to a great extent by physical conditions. If a country possesses a fertile soil and a favourable climate we may hope to find agriculture flourishing. Where coal mines and raw material abound, manufactures may be looked for. If metals are plentiful, a metallurgic industry is indicated while an extensive sea-board gives rise to a seafaring race. We know, however, that these developments do not always occur. In India the mining and manufacturing industries are very small as compared with the natural facilities which exist, and we look in vain for the race of sailors which the extensive sea-board would lead us to expect. It is therefore proposed to consider only some of the physical features which influence industry in a marked degree.

First in importance comes the matter of climate, which may be considered under three aspects—viz the mean temperature from month to month, the degree of humidity associated with various temperatures and the change in the weather from day to day. It is not possible to go into the details of such matters showing how they affect the various parts of India, but it may be briefly stated that over most of India the climate for considerable parts of the year is not conducive to human energy. Excessive temperature or humidity is inimical to sustained effort physical or mental while the long periods of uniform weather are far less stimulating than the rapid changes brought about in some favoured countries by frequent cyclonic storms.

The enervating nature of a tropical climate is generally recognized, but the full effect on a population of a tropical climate and tropical diseases may perhaps, hardly be appreciated by those who have not lived in the tropics. To take an extreme example in the province of Sind. During nearly half the year the people of Sind are prostrated by intense heat. Then follows the period of malaria when most of them are shaking with fever. After that comes the cold weather, which is found so pleasant and stimulating

by visitors to Sind. But the change is too severe for the debilitated condition of many of the inhabitants who readily develop pneumonia. It is difficult to see how satisfactory progress can be secured in these circumstances, and looking at the country as a whole it must be admitted that in the matter of climate India suffers from a severe handicap.

In the matter of rainfall also, India is at a disadvantage. The rainfall is of a markedly seasonal nature which for an agricultural population, means that work is at a standstill for about one third of the year. This results in direct loss to the people, and has a serious after-effect, for the intermittent nature of the work the periods of enforced idleness react unfavourably on their normal activity in the same way that intermittent labour is found to impair efficiency in other countries.

Some years of course, the rain fails altogether and the crops wither in spite of all efforts to save them. This spells disaster for many, and for all it produces a feeling of helplessness apathy, and fatalism which discourages alike energy and enterprise.

The fact is that in the matters referred to above India is at a disadvantage. Let us now consider what institutions she has developed to meet these difficulties. It is of course impossible to do more than note the salient points of a few of the most prominent characteristics of Hindu society but it is not difficult to trace the connection between the physical difficulties which beset the Indian cultivator and the social organization which the wisdom of bygone ages has evolved to meet them. 'the beneficial, co-operative, rural life whereon the whole system of the civilization of the Hindus have been immemorially based'.

The features of this system are fourfold viz

- 1 The Hindu family joint in interests joint in property which guarantees maintenance not only to every member of the family, but to as many children as he may choose to bring into the world.

- 2 The caste divides up the community into watertight compartments, and directs the domestic and industrial life of each man at every turn prescribing on the one hand what he may eat and drink and whom he may marry, and, on the other hand what work he may do and by what methods he should do it.

- 3 The village community is designed to regulate the relations of the various castes to each other and to co-ordinate local industry for the common good.

4. Last, but not least, comes the conception of the

paternal Government which is expected to interest itself actively in the domestic and industrial life of the subject

Now how does this system work out in practice? Such a system could hardly be expected to develop personal initiative and enterprise, and, as a matter of fact, it does not do so. Even as regards activity and industry the incentive of personal ambition and the spur of individual necessity are largely absent, and their absence tends to depress still further the low standard of effort which a debilitating climate will allow.

The fact that the units of the population are grouped together into joint families and brigaded into cohesive village communities certainly does, to some extent, secure the object aimed at—it offers several lines of defence to the people in their struggle with nature. Thanks to Hindu institutions, the blows of fortune which under a different organization, would fall on the individual are borne by a group—and, except in time of widespread distress, it is not necessary for the central Government to organize poor relief. But the policy is a negative one. The individual is saved from disaster at the expense of the community; a low standard of effort is balanced by a low standard of living and the hope of the future is sacrificed to the convenience of the present.

The industrial facts of the situation are made clear by the census figures which show that nearly three quarters of the inhabitants of India are dependent on agriculture, and that out of a population of 320,000,000 only about one million are engaged in manufacture based on modern factory organization. As in other countries so in India the products of the handicraftsman have been largely ousted by the products of the power-driven machine—but the introduction of machinery into India has been so slow that the machine-made products which have ousted Indian handicrafts come mainly from abroad and the population has been thrown back more than ever on agriculture.

The Government of India has often been severely criticized for not taking effective steps to introduce modern industrial methods more rapidly into India. But the question arises: Do the people of India desire the rapid introduction of modern industrial methods? For a long time past there has been a party which has advocated such a policy—but on the other hand there have always been many Indians who recognized that modern industrialism was not compatible with the orthodox Hindu system, and who for this reason were strongly opposed to it. This view

has lately found expression in popular exhortations to regard industrialism as a deadly peril to give up machinery and Western learning, to cultivate asceticism to the exclusion of all desire for material progress, and to return to the ideal of primitive Hindu simplicity. The popularity of such preaching shows that the introduction into India of modern industrialism slow and meagre as it has been is sufficient to provoke a somewhat violent reaction in the opposite direction.

Until recent years it was the view of the Government of India that it was not part of their duty to urge the millions of India along unfamiliar paths contrary to their wishes and inclinations. As a result of the recommendations made by the Industrial Commission the policy is now to hasten the pace. Under the reformed system of government it will be for Indians and not for Englishmen to set the pace and only time can show how far the industrial policy will be successful or how far it will produce a reaction strong enough to defeat the object aimed at.

Such are the physical conditions, the institutions, and the facts regarding the industrial development of India which the economist, and still more so the administrator, has to consider when he addresses himself to Indian problems and it was doubtless a consideration of such matters which led the Indian Industrial Commission to state their opinion that for industrial progress in India it was essential that Government should associate itself actively with the work and should find a large part of the enterprise, the driving power and the technical skill which were required. But this attitude of considering all the facts of the situation does not imply any system of economics which is peculiarly Indian. What then is the significance of the term Indian economics? Professor R. Mukerjee in his book *The Foundations of Indian Economics*, makes the matter clear. He states: 'I have sought to discover the economic message of India breathed forth by her immemorial institutions. The time has come for a clear analysis of the regulative social and ethical ideals of India to which all economic institutions must be adapted.' The idea which underlies this conception of Indian economics is that the economic life of the people must conform to the ideals and standards prescribed by the Hindu system of religion, law, and society which has been handed down from primitive times to the present day. Within these confines Professor Mukerjee evolves a scheme of industrial organization in which the typical Hindu institutions of the family, the caste,

and the village community are strengthened and amplified. Every man is to be put in possession of a plot of land and a decent house to live in, and electrical power is to be provided to run the village industries. In this way work is to be made a pleasure, life is to be made beautiful and noble. Other exponents of this idea may fill in the details of the scheme differently, but the fundamental notion of a return to the primitive purity of Hindu institutions predominates. The idea is, no doubt connected with the national spirit which has of late years come into existence, a spirit which finds expression in the demand for a return to the indigenous system of medicine or the resuscitation of the obsolete village *panchayats* which inevitably died a natural death as soon as a strong central Government was established. The movement is essentially reactionary, not progressive.

Now there can be no objection to anyone propounding any system of national organization which may seem good to him, but is it legitimate to describe as economic a system or proposals based, not on a consideration of calculable human motive but on religious and social precepts which do not admit of argument? In spite of some physical disadvantages India possesses vast stores of potential wealth and a population which is quite capable of developing this wealth provided that their institutions allow them to do so. Unless progress is desired it is unlikely that progress will take place. In that case the poverty of the people will continue to dominate the situation—poverty with all its attendant evils. If progress is desired, it is likely to take place, but on one condition only and that is that the people are willing to pay the price in enterprise and initiative in activity and energy. To do this they must be prepared to modify such institutions as dull their energy or blunt their enterprise. And this is the ground for objecting to any so called system of ‘Indian economics’ based on a rigid subordination to ancient Hindu institutions, not merely because it is a misuse of the term ‘economics,’ but because it adds to the difficulties of a situation which already has sufficient difficulties of its own.

[The above is the substance of a lecture given at the London School of Economics as introductory to a course of lectures on Indian industry and trade.]

INDIAN PLAYS IN LONDON

UNDER the auspices of the Maharaja of Jhalawar, Pandit Shyam Shankar has given a series of Indian performances at the Court Theatre. The courage of his experiment is worthy of the highest praise for art can snap its fingers at politics, and to learn to appreciate Indian art is to unlock the innermost chamber of Indian personality. It is true that the house was by no means full, yet the public are not to blame, because at present Indian music and Indian dancing are caviare to the general. The peculiar excellences of both have not yet been grasped until we become more accustomed to strange scales and strange movements; an audience in England must be rather interested than enthusiastic.

The bill was varied. Undoubtedly the most artistic part of it was the Water Carriers' song and dance and the performance of Indian music on the sitar, *diruba*, and the flute (the latter a European imitation in metal of the Indian wooden flute), accompanied, of course, by the *tabla* or double drum. But this part was for the reasons already given the least popular. The audience were more familiar with the illusion scene which followed, because the art of the Indian conjuror is so thoroughly well known in England that good folk have been known to mutter in all sincerity their conviction of Satanic co-operation.

The two plays offered were not so successful. The *Princess of Chitor* was set in obviously Saracenic surroundings, and the play suffers dramatically and artistically from being written almost entirely in monologue. The queen monopolizes quite five-sixths of the whole speaking part. Finally the *Sleeper Awakened* was handicapped by its description as a screaming farce. It was in fact mildly funny comedy in which the humour chiefly consisted of stage business. It was very noticeable that the principal male singer was utterly at sea in European times and rhythms. The orchestra tried in vain to follow him but it was nearly always in front or behind—an interesting compliment to the English difficulty of mastering Indian time and rhythm.

But no Indian production can fail to please the eye. Not only was there a revel of colour but the innate Indian artistic sense was prominent in the blends and contrasts to be noticed in the same costume. To an audience however accustomed to the finished productions of the English stage there was somewhat of an amateur flavour in the performance, and one may hope that a more careful study of technique will lead to improved productions in the future.

S P RICE

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F R SCATCHERD

I A NEAR EAST CONFERENCE

UNDER the above heading *The Near East** with its usual frankness and vigour, tells us that when the Conference of the British, French and Italian Foreign Ministers summoned by Lord Curzon has decided upon terms it will be time enough to argue as to whether France can co-operate with her Allies or not. Emphasizing the need for action it points out that—

Valuable time is being lost by the British Government's attempt to put off a Near Eastern settlement until the Angora Treaty is out of the way. Only a speedy peace with Turkey will obviate the worst effects of France's betrayal of the unfortunate people who trusted to her protection. For if there is still war between Greece and Turkey when the Nationalists take complete control of Cilicia they will deal with their Greek and Armenian enemies in the occupied territories according to custom.

What that custom is can be gathered from the Tragedy of Baffra described later on in these notes.

II FRANCE AND THE ARMENIANS

M Leon Savadjan† with admirable wisdom and foresight warns us against the danger of allowing anxiety for the safety of the Christians in Cilicia to degenerate into a campaign against France. It would be to him and all Armenians a source of profound sorrow should disagreements arising between France and England in their efforts to protect the Christians of Cilicia be one day laid at the door of Armenia.

The Armenian democracy, he writes, has always drawn inspiration from French history. During the Great War all Armenians capable of bearing arms were found side by side with France fighting on behalf of an outraged civilization, and if to-morrow France should again find herself in peril no Armenian would refuse her his blood or his life.

Friends of Armenia will desire to congratulate Boghos Nubar Pasha on his convalescence and will wish for his speedy return to full health and vigour so that he may bring his mature experience to bear upon the problem of securing the safety of his Armenian brethren in Cilicia.

III THE GREEK MISSION IN LONDON

The Gounaris mission is still in London prepared to express the Greek Government view with regard to Asia Minor. In the course of conversation Mr Mathieu Chrussachi, chief of the first political section of the Greek High Commission of Smyrna emphasized that the dividing line in the Near East was not religious. Among the immigrant population there were some who were almost fanatically pro-Turk though they were Christians. On the other hand there were Moslems such as the Circassians who had given recruits to the Greek army and were opposed to the return of the Turks, as were also the Kizil Bashis. Others again—the Yuruks for example—were neutral.

As regards the military campaign against the Turks, he asserted that

* *The Near East* December 15, 1921.

† *La Revue des Balkans* December 1921 p. 134.

Greece had not been given a fair chance. She had not been allowed to make effective use of her fleet and the right of search had been withheld, otherwise the campaign might have had a different ending.

It is claimed that the Greek administration in Smyrna 'is a constructive influence making for peace and prosperity in a corner of the distracted Near East. In support of this statement the following reasons are adduced —

1 The Greek administration under M Sterghiadis in Smyrna has succeeded in paying its way. Its first budget shows a surplus of 2 000 000 drachmas and it should be noted in this connection (a) that no new taxes have been imposed and (b) that no less than 60 per cent of the local revenue is mortgaged to the Dette Publique Ottomane and the Régie Co interessee des Tabacs and collected by these institutions directly without the intervention of the State.

2 Good work has also been done by the Public Health Department. Under the Turkish regime cholera, typhus and smallpox were almost endemic in the Smyrna region. In some outlying districts gunpowder dissolved in water was the only medicine of which the villagers had any knowledge. Under the auspices of the Smyrna administration the Greek Red Cross has organized twenty-one hospitals in which over 300 000 patients have received medical treatment. In addition to this quinine and other medicaments have been distributed gratis to 600 000 applicants. A children's hospital and a Pasteur institute* have been established and an institute of hygiene is in process of organization in connection with the University.

3 The Greek administration has honestly striven to conciliate the Turkish element. The use of the Turkish language is admitted in the law courts and in correspondence with the administration. The staff of the latter moreover comprises a considerable number of Moslems. Thus not to mention minor officials the Mayor of Smyrna and the Prefect of Magnesia are Turks. Further all distinctively Moslem institutions existing previous to the Greek occupation (Vakoufs, Orphans Fund, religious courts) have been maintained with an exclusively Moslem personnel. Similarly Moslem education is controlled by a Board on which all the members are Moslem. It may be added in this connection that the Greek administration while it has so far left the upkeep of the Greek schools to the local Greek communes has spent over 1 000 000 drachmas in grants to Turkish schools and colleges.

Above all things the Greek administration is careful never by commission or by omission to offend the religious feeling of the Turkish inhabitants. A visitor to Smyrna during the Baram feast may hear the salute of guns prescribed by Moslem tradition fired at the appointed hours by Greek batteries and warships.

IV — PONTOS THE KEY OF CIVILIZATION IN THE NEAR EAST

In an impassioned appeal dated October 19 1911 Dr Platon Drakoules, writing from Athens, gives full and precise details of the atrocities perpetrated in the Republic of Pontos. Unless the Powers intervene and that speedily we shall have to deplore the disappearance of the last traces of Greek civilization in the Hellenic country of Pontos.

Setting aside the significance of Pontos from a political economical and civilizing standpoint the Council composed of the leaders of that Greek republic limit themselves for the present to the humanitarian aspect and appeal for sympathy and help to everyone desirous of saving hundreds of thousands of lives of a race which alone in that land has proved the creator of civilization and the guarantor of order and security.

V — APPEAL OF THE PONTOS COUNCIL TO DR DRAKOULES

CENTRAL COUNCIL OF PONTOS
15 RUE IAPASSHECOPOULON
ATHENS

Dr Platon Drakoules
Athens

September 29 1921

DEAR SIR — The Central Council addresses itself primarily to you whose life has been a long devotion and self-sacrifice for the general interests of Hellenism and humanity and whose unique example provides

A doubtful benefit unless humanely supervised — F. R. S.

a model and a guide for a true altruist. The Central Council invokes your invaluable advocacy of our cause, and trusts that you will find means to make these crimes known to all humane persons and societies in order that public opinion may be aroused and an intervention be brought about for terminating the unheard-of atrocities in Pontos.

Confident as we feel that in your person the Central Council of Pontos finds a friend, adviser and collaborator we express in the name of the myriads of Pontian victims and martyrs, our brethren and their bereaved widows and orphans, our eternal gratitude and our deepest respect

A NEOPHYTOS
(Vice President)

N LEONTIDES
(General Secretary)

VI —THE TRAGEDY OF BAFBRA IN PONTOS

An eyewitness, who escaped the massacre of Baffra was rescued with 100 others on a sailing ship to Medea in Thrace. A necessarily brief résumé of his report translated from the Turkish text written in Greek characters, is given below

Driving out the Inhabitants of Baffra—On June 5 1921 Saturday morning the town of Baffra was surrounded by troops and armed Baffrian Turks. Companies consisting of Turks Albanians Lazoes and led by gendarmes were suddenly scattered in the Christian parishes, where they demanded the surrender of the men of each family. Without delay they took their prisoners to the police station and allowed the Government agents to despoil the houses. Among the prisoners were priests and the notables Murat Dzelepoglou and Basil Karassavaoglou. The keys of the church were delivered to the under Governor of Baffra. In the meantime the inhabitants of the surrounding villages by order of their notables Nevrisin Mehmet and Tirahzate Mehmet encircled the church. The seven priests were killed by an axe at the entrance of the church. Tragical was the funeral service and the appropriate sermon by the priest Papayanni in anticipation of the fate which awaited them. After the massacre of the seven priests the troops and the armed peasants climbed the walls of the church and fired from there. Then the bayonet and the axe were utilized. One of the martyrs Nicolas Jordanoglou, offered his last £ 1300 for the privilege of being shot instead of being put to any other death.

The courage and self abnegation of the Greek women of Baffra is beyond description. Submitted for whole days to unheard of tortures not one was induced to reveal the hiding place of husband or neighbour. At the risk of their lives these heroic women had many hidden in their houses, and thus several men escaped the Turkish police.

The evacuation of these districts was organized in four convoys three of which were subsequently put to the sword. The fourth consisting of thirty five persons, among whom were the merchants Anastasios Azzoglou and Constantine Azzoglou reached safety. It is not known why the Turks after having exterminated the greatest part of the Greek population thought it necessary to make sure that this small and insignificant last convoy should be taken safely to the place of exile a town near Marash, called Elvistan, where the exiled were able to telegraph to friends.

JOHN DILMITOGLU
Notable of Baffra escaped to Medea in Thrace

Athens,
October 13 1921

VII.—THE ANGLO-HELLENIC LEAGUE

To the above League belongs the honour of organizing a Mansion House meeting on December 12 last, not for political purposes, but for securing an effective guarantee for the lives and elementary rights of the Armenian Greek and other minorities of Asia Minor, especially of Cilicia.

The British Armenian Committee whose action in this matter seemed long overdue associated itself therewith.

Unable to attend the meeting I sent the following message:

'The essential thing is that the Near Eastern question should be considered dispassionately. Let us have an impartial Commission on which every creed will be represented before which evidence like that furnished by Dr Platon Drakoules with regard to Pontos could find a hearing.

M Venizelos * who has in the past shown himself tolerant to all faiths and is now totally separated from all politics should be invited by this meeting to represent the vital interests of all the minorities in Asia Minor at Geneva, as well as at any Conferences on the Near East which the Powers may call from time to time.

VIII — THE ARAB CASE IN PALESTINE

With so many centres of unrest in the Near East it is to be hoped that the situation in Palestine will not be allowed to get out of control. An Arab delegation has now been in London for some months and has sent to *The Times* a long letter setting out their case. According to the latest census it appears that there are only 70,000 Jews out of a total population of 800,000. Besides this overwhelming majority they can point to definite pledges given to them during and after the war—viz the High Commissioner for Egypt, in October 1915 Mr Lloyd George in September 1919 and Mr Churchill's statement in the House of Commons this year. Their present demands are as follows:

1. That a national Government be created in Palestine which shall be responsible to a Parliament elected by those inhabitants of the country who lived there before the war—namely Moslems, Christians and Jews.
2. The abolition of the present Zionist policy in Palestine and that the regulation of immigration be controlled by this national Government which is the best judge of the capacity of the country to support newcomers.
3. That the Holy Places for all religions be left in the entire control of their present guardians and that neither the national Parliament nor any other authority be allowed to effect any changes therein.
4. That a local gendarmerie be created for policing purposes the expenses for this body to be met by the Palestine Government.

At the last Council Meeting of the Federation of the League of Nations Societies which met at Vienna a Committee of World Propaganda was formed including Lord Robert Cecil, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, Senator Ruffini and M. Gustav Ador. M. Venizelos was invited to serve on the Committee and to devote himself entirely to its cause.

Major David Davies M.P. writing in the *Westminster Gazette* tells us that after prolonged consideration M. Venizelos has agreed.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

LEADING ARTICLE

INDIAN SYMBOLISM

BY STANLEY RICE

IT is not always easy to apply to ourselves the standard which we set for others, if we sit comfortably by our own fireside and ask why such an one has chosen to do this or such another to think that it is not so much from a want of sympathy with that other's outlook as from sheer inability to appreciate wholly the circumstances in which he is placed. It is in fact the reverse of the situation in Burns's famous couplet—we need not only to see ourselves as others see us but to see others as they see themselves to appreciate their difficulties, to rejoice with their laughter to weep with their tears and in that most intimate and delicate matter of our relations with the unseen and of our speculations upon the unknown to see with their eyes and to hear with their ears.

Are these things truisms? Perhaps, but they are none the less difficult to put into practice. We hear it said again and again that what we need is more sympathy and if we hug ourselves with the comfortable assurance that we at least are in no need of such exhortation do we always apply that large hearted sympathy which we flatter ourselves that we possess? Can we always get outside our own familiar customs and institutions and survey them as a detached observer as some far off Martian might survey the doings of this planet? The familiar stories of our childhood, David and Goliath Daniel in the lions' den the wrestling of Jacob have become so familiar that we take them for granted and not so long ago the orthodox who smiled at the Greek or Babylonish story of the Flood would have been scandalized at the suggestion that to them the divinely inspired Jewish story was of exactly the same value—neither more nor less.

We must, then, approach the Hindu symbolism in this spirit of detachment and try to find in it universal principles

seeking to express themselves in a manner characteristic of the people. Thus there appears to be something grotesque in a god, otherwise anthropomorphic, who can boast of six arms or four heads. The Greeks we should argue, did not do such things, Apollo, and Hermes Athena and Artemis were fashioned in the likeness of men, and the ideas which they embodied were represented by their subsidiary accompaniments. But Christian art has not followed the Greek fidelity to type—we represent the angels as men and women distinguishable only by the wings which grow from their shoulders. Now what do these wings mean? Surely they imply that the angels are the messengers—οἱ ἄγγελοι—of God who pass between heaven and earth, and are simply the physical and artistic presentment of a spiritual conception. And if some stranger suggested that these figures—half bird, half man—were grotesque even as the Satyr and the Centaur of Greece were grotesque the sufficient answer would be that you can postulate anything of an ideal conception which tries to present itself in concrete form. The angels being spirits, and the form of spirits being unknown, there is no reason why they should not have wings either two or more, as had the angel of Isaiah's vision.

If then we admit without compunction this presentment of the idea of a heavenly messenger an idea which it may be remarked in passing was embodied also by the Greeks in the person of Hermes with the winged sandals and which India has portrayed under a more human form such as Dante gave to his guide we must logically admit the Hindu conception of omnipotence in a multiplication of arms and the whole matter becomes one of æsthetic taste. It is an elementary idea that power resides in the arm.

Hast thou an arm like God? is God's rebuke to Job in one of the most inspired passages of that inspired poem and lest the words be misunderstood he adds with the duplication characteristic of Hebrew poetry. Canst thou thunder with a voice like Him? To our finite intelligence the saying that God is a spirit is too hard. modern Christianity tries to realize the loftiness of this conception by treating the First Person of the Trinity as something outside the possibility of artistic representation and confines the portrayal of the Holy Spirit to the emblematic figure of a Dove. The mediæval artists were not so nice. God the Father was to them a majestic figure of an old grey bearded man in robe and crown. Yet even in our modern days we cannot quite escape from the notion of

anthropomorphism the very idea of the Fatherhood of God, the very language we use of the Invisible and the Unknowable, betrays it. Man said the Hebrew cosmogonists, was made in the image of God, thereby implying that he is the finite exemplar of the form of the Infinite. This anthropomorphic conception, which we cannot altogether get away from makes any deviation from it seem to us grotesque, even though the variations of it are merely the symbolical expressions of attributes with which every religion clothes its deities. If Ganesa has the head of an elephant and if Siva is represented with more than one head let us not forget that in the ecstatic vision of Ezekiel the cherubic inhabitants of heaven had four faces and two of these were like unto the animal creation.

The Indians have been called a race of philosophers, to a certain extent this is true but they are something more. They are a race of artists. The contemplative nature, for which they are famous turns instinctively to the riddle of the Universe to the nature of God and to the destiny of man. And in seeking to give expression to their idealism they lose the vision of the finite and their art is centred upon the idea, without reference to the limitations of phenomenal Nature. Nor is this true alone of pictorial art in their serious poetry too is enshrined their philosophy. They talk in parables yet always revert to the philosophic subject. 'A bird was faint with thirst,' says Mahommed Iqbal, who though a Mahomedan is thoroughly Indian in thought. He saw a diamond in the garden the foolish bird fancied that it was water.' And then he saw a dewdrop. Be a diamond, cries the poet 'not a dewdrop!' Be massive in nature like mountains. Save thyself by affirmation of self!

India, in fact is saturated with symbolism. He who seeks to interpret this or that custom by reference to mere utilitarianism has never found the spirit of the country. The more transcendental the explanation the more nearly will it be right. It is always safe to distrust a solution which is based upon considerations of convenience. There is no more common sight in all India than the thread of the Brahman yet, as a recent writer has said 'Everything about the sacred cord is symbolic its length is ninety six times the breadth of the four fingers of a man, the reason given being that a man's height is ninety six times the breadth of one finger, while each of the four fingers represents one of the four states the soul experiences from time to time—namely, the three states of waking, of

dreaming, and of dreamless sleep and also the fourth state, that of the Absolute Brahman. The cord must be three-fold because there are three qualities out of which our bodies are compounded—reality, passion, darkness. The twist of the thread must be upward so that the good quality may predominate and so the wearer may rise to great spiritual heights. The whole cord is tied together by a knot called *Brahma granthi* which has three parts representing *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Siva*. The very exuberance of this fancy shocks our more practical European mind, we are accustomed to speak of Oriental hyperbole as something to be avoided. Yet may it not be that this very exuberance is the natural outcome of the influence of Nature upon the children of the country? An Indian has said that the passion of Hindu drama and the passion of Hindu music fail to appeal because they are always rigidly kept under restraint, if that is the genius of the art as it is interpreted by the leaders of art we must seek elsewhere for the cause of this traditional exuberance. And we shall surely find it in the stupendous mountains in the limitless forests in the majestic rivers, even in the wide and monotonous plains of India. All nature is on the exuberant scale. The sun shines with furnace heat the rain descends with the force of a deluge the titanic Himalayas preserve their secret in fastnesses of unmeasured snow and unrecorded ice, the flooded rivers rush down, carrying in their giant arms huge trunks of fallen trees and at times sweeping contemptuously away the puny works of man, the jungle stretches out innumerable tentacles to catch the unwary, and the tiger and the elephant lie hidden in its deepest recesses. And man in the endeavour to express himself has caught the spirit of the nature around him, his images are gigantic. The strong man of Homer lifted stones which perhaps four or five men of a more degenerate age could not move the strong man of Israelite legend bore away the gates of a town and cracked the pillars of a temple burying himself and his enemies in the ruins, the strong man of Greece tamed wild horses and overcame the seemingly immortal beast of Lerna. But the strong man of India is endowed with the strength of ten thousand elephants. What does this mean? To us who can break a branch from a tree or tear a sapling from the earth, that strength which cracks a pillar is only an extension in the same plane if a man can fight with a mastiff, a super-man can conquer a lion or a hydra. But the strength of an elephant is prodigious, the strength of a hundred is past

our comprehension, and imagination sinks under the idea of the strength of ten thousand. Surely, then, it is merely the gigantic image of superlative, if you will, of incredible strength.

It is these gigantic figures which to our soberer imagination make the Hindu miracle almost ridiculous. Huxley long ago distinguished between possibilities and impossibilities, he pointed out that we have no right to call that impossible which is merely not yet revealed to our ignorance and also that a thing which is possible now was equally possible in former ages, though far less probable. And, conversely, if we apply the test of human knowledge to that which we call a miracle, and by hypothesis announced as impossible, a miracle becomes no stronger because it is multiplied in degree. You may, if you choose explain a so-called miracle rationally, you may say that the Shunamite's son was in a trance or that the Red Sea parted owing to a catastrophic disturbance. Or again you may resort to symbolism and hold that Daniel's escape was a parable to show the loving care of God for the pious. Or, once more you may accept the miraculous and maintain that Elijah's prayer really called down authentic fire from heaven and that he left the earth in a flaming chariot which was sent by God. But whichever test you apply you must logically apply to Hindu miracles. If a man can jump 22 feet, we can easily believe that he can jump 23 or 25 and imagination might be brought to accept 30 or even 50, but we assert confidently that no man can jump 100 yards, and the impossibility is really no greater if we magnify 100 yards into a mile. If no man can raise the dead the miracle is not the greater because the corpse was decapitated. Men do not always reason thus. To conceive the rising up of a body after death seems to be only an extension of the rising of the living man after sleep. It puts too great a strain upon the imagination when we are told that the head has first been severed from the body. We accept Durendal or sword Nothing, without demur but a bow that turns back flights of arrows is more than we can stomach.

These things we maintain are part of the Hindu symbolism which is everywhere to be sought and their extravagance is to be attributed to that exuberant fancy which the country has engendered. Nevertheless it is true that to a weaker generation the symbolism the poetic and artistic imagery of an idea has too often been obscured by the vulgar appetite for a mere story. The fine concep-

tion that the impure lusts of man are blasted and withered by the terrible eye of Him who destroys evil and purifies the world of sin is turned by the common people into a rather grotesque fable in which Kama the God of Love, the counterpart rather of Aphrodite than of Eros is consumed by the third eye of Siva. The very emblem under which Siva himself is worshipped, and which we would fain think is intended to remind us of the eternal cycle of the world the ever-recurrent winter and spring when the old and worn out is cast aside and the livery of new and young life is put on—this emblem is grafted on to a tale which is too impure to write and which suggests that 'the god is always worshipped under the livery of his shame

Hinduism has been overtaken by the fate which so often befalls the heritage of high thought, bequeathed to men too little of stature to comprehend and it must bear the burden of misunderstanding by the foreigner in consequence. The thought of those nobler spirits is missed who looked beyond the symbol to the reality who cared but little for the immediate effect of their imagery provided that thereby they could express the idea. Hence it comes that the traveller making a faithful record of what he sees and hears fails to catch the spirit of the country too often it is the fault of those from whom he inquires. For these simple souls do as their fathers did and never ask the reason why it is their whole philosophy to carry out with scrupulous care the pontifical decrees of bygone Brahmins, and again and again they will say as their only answer.

It is the custom, we do not know the meaning of it. Our Guru tells us to do this or that but even he does not know what it implies.

We call India 'The Land of Regrets, and if we analyze our feelings we shall perhaps find that what we most regret is that ethereal atmosphere which is always expressing itself symbolically in the life around us. We call India 'idolatrous,' but that is because we have not learned to interpret her symbolism to disregard the phenomenal and look only to the invisible. We call India spiritual, idealistic her genius, despising the obvious and the sensible strives beyond them to the unattainable, and the visions that she sees if only in a glass darkly, she paints for the grosser finite senses of man in a constant and universal symbolism.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

INDIA OLD AND NEW By Sir Valentine Chirol (*Macmillan and Co*) 10s

(Reviewed by Sir VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

No book concerning India has been more widely read than Sir Valentine Chirol's "Indian Unrest," published eleven years ago. The author's brilliant style, wide information and careful research were recognized even by those who disagreed with some of his conclusions. Sir Valentine has now published a second book which deals mainly with the same subject but covers wider ground and travels back into remote ages. He surveys the history of India, not only from the year 1600 to the year 1921, but also from the beginning of recorded time. Since the publication of

"Indian Unrest," our author has visited India four times, twice in circumstances which gave him peculiar opportunities of observation. In December 1916, he witnessed remarkable political meetings at Lucknow. In February 1921 he saw the opening of the new parliament at Delhi. He visited the Jallianwala Bagh and stood where General Dyer stood on April 13, 1919, in widely different circumstances. He tells us that as is apparent from passages in this book, his views have in some degree altered, and that he recognizes more clearly now the shortcomings of British rule in India. He urges strongly that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were the best solution possible of a tangled problem, and that their outcome must be regarded in a hopeful spirit.

It is idle now to discuss this contention. Professor Coupland, in an interesting lecture before the University of Oxford on "The Study of the British Commonwealth," has rightly observed that nationality in one shape or another is to-day the most powerful and the most troublesome element in the whole complex of world politics. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were the method of dealing with Indian Nationalism which was preferred by Parliament. That method is now being tested and will as time goes on be further tested very severely indeed by experience. We hope that the result will be satisfactory, that the structure will grow into the stately edifice designed by the architects. But we would ask that while prayers are offered for its future, justice be done to the old abandoned dwelling-house which was for India a cover from the tempest of a world-wide war, and that men who served their generation faithfully be judged with the fullest possible comprehension of their real surroundings. Our author has meant to be fair, but was rightly anxious to be generous to 'the spirit of new India' and possibly through this anxiety, has not appreciated with sufficient accuracy all the elements of certain situations.

As an example of our meaning we will quote a sentence regarding the work of those British administrators who laboured in India twenty years ago, before the coming of the "first great wave of unrest." Sir Valentine

Chirol has written 'What constituted good government efficiency came to be regarded as the one test that mattered, and it was a test which only Englishmen were competent to apply, and which Indians were required to accept as final, whatever their wishes or their thoughts might be.

These words, we venture to suggest, convey an inaccurate impression of the real situation. It has of late years frequently been laid to the charge of Indian Civil Servants that they care too much for efficiency in administration. We have not been able to appreciate precisely the meaning of this accusation. Does it mean that unjustifiable reluctance is shown in allowing such functions of government as education or care for the public health to be subjected to varied experiments, or does it mean that supreme importance is attached to punctual reports and neat returns? But if we cannot answer this question we are quite sure of the meaning which the much abused bureaucrats themselves attach to "efficiency in administration. Their ideals have always been the same: firm and impartial justice; protection of the people of their districts from the effects of natural calamities and the designs of rascals; assuagement of religious animosities; payment of the State's just dues; and last but by no means least, harmonious working with the local self government boards and the leaders of prominent interests for the promoting of progress. Those officers who came nearest to attaining to such ideals were held by their fellows to be most efficient. Can anyone suppose that in their efforts for success they dared to disregard the feelings and wishes of the people concerned; or that their Government encouraged such preposterous folly? Further on our author writes: The British administrator *was* not altogether unwarranted in his conviction that in standing in the ancient ways he had behind him not only the tacit consent of the inarticulate masses, but the positive support of very important classes and communities — *i.e.* of the great majority of the people of India. We have no hesitation in expanding this cautious concession into the assertion that not only then but long afterwards the British administrator *had* the support of this great majority. India's history would have been different had this not been the case.

But why had the administration this support? Because it was efficient. Because it was the most efficient government India had known. Persons who imagine that in calm moments Indians like bad government are suffering from sad delusion. They like it no more than we do. Incidentally we remember a striking testimony to pre-war British rule paid by an Indian political leader who never hesitated to point out its defects. On August 13, 1914 Sir Pherozeshah Mehta said in the Bombay Town Hall: "At this solemn moment we can only remember that we owe sacred duties and holy obligations to that British rule under whose auspices the lofty destinies of this great and magnificent land are being moulded for over a century and under whose wise, and provident, and righteous statesmanship the welfare, happiness, and prosperity of the country are being incessantly promoted."

The Declaration of August 20, 1917, events outside India, the Reforms

and their results have given a new orientation to the minds of many who formerly stood away from politics. But when the war came it found the old system of Government, even though chiefly directed by Englishmen, in possession of the support of the country.

In enumerating the political complaints of twenty years ago Sir Valentine Chirol hardly takes into account the small number of the politicians of those days. Local Government Boards were still young and the rise to power of the literary classes which these institutions so largely facilitated was a strange idea to other sections of the population. The landlords were unquestionably the acknowledged leaders of the great majority of Indians. Their attitude was entirely conservative. The propagation of racialism and nationalism had barely begun. The Indian National Congress itself was representative of a particular class of Hindus only and of no class of Muhammadans. The Government of India had solid reason for regarding it as voicing the demands of a very small portion of the population. We think that they underrated its importance but we know that they were not open to the accusation of disregarding general Indian wishes and thoughts. On the contrary they were constantly endeavouring to work in harmony with general Indian ideas. In quoting the partition of Bengal as the consummation of remorseless efficiency our author might well have explained that the object of that measure was to secure ordinarily good government for the territories covered by the original charge of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, provinces far too large for a single administration to direct. Repugnant moreover though the measure was to Calcutta Hindus, it was so welcome to the Muhammadans who formed the majority of the population in Eastern Bengal that its subsequent alteration largely contributed to that alienation of Muslim sentiment which began definitely in 1912 and encouraged by other circumstances has since made intermittent progress with such melancholy results.

Sir Valentine Chirol apparently holds that previous widening of Indian representation on councils, dilution of the Civil Service periodical parliamentary inquiries would have impeded or disarmed the first Hindu revolutionary movement. It is always difficult to say what might have been, and in any case what might have been is as though it could not be. But we remember that this movement was preceded by a zealous campaign throughout many districts of Bengal carried on by enthusiasts inspired by strong racial-cum religious sentiment and encouraged by the achievements of Japan. We much doubt if it would have progressed less slowly in the presence of somewhat enlarged legislative councils and Indian district officials. And we reflect that all the parliamentary enquiries which preceded the Mutiny in no way prevented or gave warning of that cataclysm. It seems to us that in any case many Western-educated Hindus would for some time have sympathized with the early revolutionaries. We are not impressed by the contrast which our author draws between the behaviour of Western-educated Indians in the Mutiny and their attitude in 1907-8. The whole circumstances of the two cases were widely dissimilar. Western-educated Indians in the provinces affected by the Mutiny were a

handful untouched by Nationalist idealism, and, in all probability, mainly in Government service.

The book emphasizes the inadequacy of the Morley Minto Reforms, stating that just before the commencement of the War the educated classes, 'balked of the political liberties which they regarded as their due seemed to be drifting hopelessly into bitter antagonism to British rule.' Our recollection however is that at that time these classes were happier than they had been for years. They were much more influential and their influence was growing rapidly. Their extreme wing was under eclipse. The revolutionary section was carrying on subterranean activities but was small and, although piling up a tale of crime was not influencing the general trend of politics. We remember the following passage on page 340 volume II of Lord Morley's Recollections. For the result [of the Morley Minto reforms] we have the high authority of Lord Minto's successor. Since the outbreak of the war said Lord Hardinge (in 1915), all political controversies concerning India have been suspended by the educated and political classes with the object of not increasing the difficulties of the Government's task. In certain cases where drastic legislation was necessary the Indian Government was able to pass it without the slightest opposition in the Imperial Legislative Council which consists of sixty-eight members with an Indian representation of about thirty and a Government majority of only four. Speeches made by Indian members are striking testimony of the increased responsibility. There is no doubt of the very considerable progress of India. Even during the five and a half years of my stay I noticed a vast political development. It is unquestionable that this improvement is an outcome of the reformation of councils undertaken by Lord Morley and Lord Minto.

In March 1916 Lord Hardinge advised his Legislative Council to remember that the development of self governing institutions had been achieved not by 'sudden strokes of statesmanship' but by a steady and patient evolution which had raised and united all classes of the community. When he left India, the country was profoundly quiet. He was succeeded by a Viceroy who was already convinced that a radical stroke of statesmanship was imperative. Many things followed and the old order has been largely swept away. Sir Valentine Chirol summarizes the story and observes that the enduring success of the new constitution cannot be predicted with absolute assurance. We agree entirely. For India's sake for our brethren and companions sake, we wish this constitution prosperity. But it will fail dismally if under it efficiency in administration becomes a discarded ideal. We have little more to say. In a chapter on the emergence of Mr Gandhi our author speaks of the Rowlatt Bill legislation. We would add to this passage the statement that as we have shown elsewhere *before legislation was initiated* the question of Government action on the Rowlatt Committee Report was fully debated in the Imperial Legislative Council and that a proposal to hold consideration of the Report in abeyance was negatived by a very large majority only two non officials supporting it. We may also note that about the same

time an article appeared in the *Indian Social Reformer*, a widely respected Indian periodical, remarking that the question of the moment was "what should be done *immediately* to check a sinister movement which seeks its tasks chiefly from immature boys attending secondary schools. In taking action on the Rowlatt Report the Government of India were acting with ample authority and ample cause.

In the same chapter we have strong indictments of General Dyer's action in the Jallianwala Bagh, of martial law administration in the Punjab of the action—or rather inaction—of the Viceroy and Secretary of State after the riots of April, 1919. We have also an account of a conversation with Mr. Gandhi and an estimate of that individual's psychology. The indictments substantially repeat an article by our author in *The Times* of May 17, 1921. It was promptly answered by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and we have neither time nor place wherein to continue the discussion. We doubt if Sir Valentine Chirol has weighed all the facts and complexities of the situations on which he comments. But in one respect his judgment can in no way be questioned. He shows clearly that the responsibility for the administration of martial law in the Punjab is shared by much higher authorities than the officers whose orders and sentences he impugns. Yet we understand from a passage on page 50 of the Government Report on 'India in 1920' that these scapegoats are still under the official harrow. In all the circumstances of their case in view of the generous measure of immunity enjoyed by the authors of the movement which produced the riots we trust that this passage is *ad captandum* verbiage.

We confess that we are weary of analyses of Mr. Gandhi's psychology and motives. We think that the tree should be judged by its fruits. By these he stands condemned at once. If we judge him not by his occasional expositions of his motives and objects but by his actual proceedings, we must recognize that obsessed with fanaticism and a curious self-importance, he has deliberately caused or taken part in causing a vast amount of bloodshed and misery. The poison of asps has been under his tongue. We are assured on the authority of the Government Report already referred to that by his asceticism and appeal to Hindu tradition he makes an appeal to Indians of all classes. Nevertheless we think that the following passage from a letter written by a patriotic Indian correctly voices a very general sentiment. Gandhi has done enormous harm to the country. I had my doubts about his sincerity from the first though at one time some of his worst enemies perhaps hesitated in denying him that quality. He has never been sincere unless the term is used in any particular sense. He never believed what he said and preached. He was by no means such a fool as to fail to know perfectly well that the non-violent non-co-operation which he so glibly preaches was absolutely impracticable, and the only inference is that he was actually leading to violence, rebellion, and trouble.

But we have written enough. "India Old and New," is full of wide information, and contains some fine descriptive passages. There are valuable chapters on such varied subjects as "The Enduring Power of

Hinduism, "Economic Factors, "The Indian Problem a World Problem." We agree with our author that "We should ask ourselves whether our own lack of vigilance and forethought did not contribute to the luxuriant growth of tares in a soil naturally congenial to them. But the answer to that question need not depress us. We could not foresee extraordinary events, we made some mistakes, we suffered from mortal frailties, but generally we did our best according to the light that was in us. When the day of supreme trial came our best bore fruit. The anchor held. Had things been otherwise, there would have been no mission of the Secretary of State and no Montagu Chelmsford Reforms. And even now what does Britain stand for in India? She stands for ordered freedom. It is British control that secures such freedom that alone holds the balance between the various communities of the great subcontinent. This basic fact is prominent in India to day

SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA A Political Biography By H P Mody M A
(Bombay *The Times Press*)

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT K C S I)

This is a very interesting record of the life of an Indian politician of the old school. The Aga Khan has contributed a preface in which he states that for forty five out of his seventy years of life Sir Pherozeshah was 'for the average Anglo-Indian the personification of a dangerous demagogue. We were not aware of this. Indeed we never remember having ourselves heard any disparaging comment on the public life of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. He was, so far as we know generally regarded as a progressive Indian of high character and strong individuality. It is certain that the man who at the age of twenty six could at a large public meeting address the following homily to his audience was made of stout stuff.

The self-constituted leaders of movements have a twofold duty to perform. It is not sufficient for them to stand forth boldly to give loud utterance to confused and incoherent popular cries. It is not sufficient for them to reiterate and proclaim the popular indiscriminate wailings and inconclusive analyses of the public grievances. There is another and a higher duty cast upon them the duty of guiding the movement in its proper part of extricating it from the confusion of words and thoughts under which it usually labours of analyzing the genuine and substantial causes of it, discussing and proposing measures well adapted to meet the end in view.

Mr Mody observes. In this age of cant and cheap notoriety when political reputations often depend upon the persistence and vehemence with which the catch phrases and the popular cries of the moment are reiterated how many of our national leaders, one wonders, would be able to stand this somewhat exacting test of true leadership and to say that they upheld the principles and convictions which animated their public career in more peaceful days?

Truly we may wonder with the author of this book, "What would the position of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta have been if he had been alive in the

bewildering times through which we are passing? Would he have lived to see his power and authority shaken, if not destroyed, and his name dragged through the mud like that of many an honoured colleague, or would his personality have succeeded in keeping at bay, at least in his own strong hold, the onrushing forces which threaten to drive the country to the brink of a precipice?

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was, above all things, a great citizen of Bombay. He was devoted to the interests of his own city. He gave it many years of valuable and faithful service. He contributed largely to its improvement and good name. He earnestly sought its advancement. In politics he was a determined Progressive, but also a determined Constitutionalists in the strictest sense of the word. His views were definite, fearless and clear-cut. He absolutely refused to compromise or palter with Extremism.

For God's sake he wrote, after the Congress split of 1907 "let us have done with all inane and slobberly whines about unity where there really is none. Let each constituent body of views and principles have its own Congress in an honest and straightforward way, and let God—i.e., Truth and Wisdom—judge between us all!" Had his advice been consistently followed the Moderates would never have been driven out of their own institution. But he died just before the critical period in the history of the Congress. May his memory and influence remain fresh! Both are needed in India. We have much enjoyed reading Mr. Mody's book.

THE LIFE OF SHIVAJI MAHARAJ, FOUNDER OF THE MARATHA EMPIRE
By N. S. Takakhav, M.A. Professor at the Wilson College, Bombay
(Bombay *Manoranjana Press*) 1921 10s or Rs 7

(Reviewed by H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.)

Mr. Takakhav states upon his title page that his book is an adaptation from a Marathi Life of Shivaji by Mr. K. A. Keluskar of the Wilson High School at Bombay which was first published in 1907 and he adds in his Preface that his translation was taken in hand about seven years ago. But he also makes it clear that in the form in which it now reaches the public the present English version may be regarded as a new and independent work of an up-to-date character.

Like all biographers of the great Maratha Mr. Takakhav claims that recent predecessors in the field have failed to do justice to the character and achievements of Shivaji, and he discusses the attempts of his competitors with the utmost frankness. The earliest of these English works in point of time is the late Mr. Justice Ranade's book on 'The Rise of the Maratha Power' which was published at Bombay in 1900. Mr. Takakhav dismisses this highly interesting volume with scant notice, and appears in particular to resent the halting defence which is made therein of the killing of Afzul Khan. The book is unhappily not easily procurable in this country, but those who are so fortunate as to obtain a copy can be assured of a perusal accompanied by pleasure as well as by profit. Fifteen years later Mr. H. G. Rawlinson brought out his "Shivaji the Maratha

(Oxford, 1915) The impression left upon the mind of Mr Takakhav by Mr Rawlinson is that Shivaji's main achievement was the inauguration of a type of bureaucracy which was new in certain respects but was otherwise in conformity with the form of government which has existed in India from the time of Asoka and Chandra Gupta There is however more than that in Mr Rawlinson's monograph although it is admittedly only a sketch and many details have not been filled in The next in chronological order is the fragment devoted to Shivaji in the first volume of the "History of the Maratha People" by Mr C A Kincaid and Rao Bahadur D B Parasnis (Oxford 1919) Mr Takakhav rightly describes this book as romantic in conception and uncritical in method but nevertheless he is constantly relying upon it Of a very different type is Professor Jadunath Sarkar's study of 'Shivaji and His Times' (Calcutta 1919 Second Edition 1920) but it does not meet with commendation from Mr Takakhav who condemns it as hypercritical in treatment and sceptical in its intellectual outlook The fact is that the Bengali scholars icy impartiality and ruthless rejection of tradition render him unacceptable to those ardent spirits who have engrafted the cult of Shivaji upon the modern Nationalist movement in Western India

How does Mr Takakhav escape the pitfalls into which he conceives his rivals to have fallen? The estimate of Shivaji which he offers for consideration is avowedly based to a very substantial extent upon the indigenous *bakhars* or Marathi chronicles His justification is that Shivaji has suffered the same fate as Hannibal The character of the great Carthaginian has been painted in the darkest colours by his Roman enemies and no other portraits of him survive Similarly the only contemporary records of Shivaji's time are in English and Persian and are naturally biased in varying degrees Every official document and every State paper has been destroyed This is undoubtedly true There remain the *bakhars* but what is their historical value? Professor Sarkar who has submitted them to an exhaustive examination has shown that every one of them derives its inspiration from the *Shiva chhatrapati chen Charitra* a small book of barely one hundred pages, written by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad at Jinji in 1694, under the orders of Raja Ram the younger son of Shivaji and the ancestor of the present Maharaja of Kolhapur Shivaji it should be mentioned died in 1680 The comment of Professor Sarkar upon this chronicle is as follows The events are not arranged in chronological order, some of the statements are incorrect weak in topography no dates language very condensed and sometimes obscure Nevertheless, it is upon this foundation that all the later *bakhars* have been constructed, with the addition of loose traditions, Sanskrit quotations stories of miracles, and details provided from the probabilities of the case or from pure imagination In some instances the inaccuracies are of the most ludicrous character Thus in the *Shivadigvijaya* popularly supposed to have been written in 1718 by Khando Ballal the son of Shivaji's secretary, Balaji Avji but really fabricated at a much later date, the assertion is solemnly made that an 'English general' was present at the

coronation of Shivaji, and that goods from "Calcutta" were used in decorating his hall in 1674

Such are the authorities upon which Mr Takakhav depends. Mr Kincaid is an even greater offender, and Mr Rawlinson is not altogether guiltless. But Mr Takakhav has gone so far as to reproduce without comment on the first three pages of his opening chapter, the pedigree which seeks to trace Shivaji's descent from the sun and to establish the connection of his family with the Sesodia clan of Rajputs of which the Maharana of Udaipur is the chief. He does not tell his readers that the founder of the house Bhosavant Bhonsle, was in reality a *patel* or village officer and like the great mass of the Maratha people, was by caste a *kunbi* or cultivator. If we turn to the pages of Sarkar and Ranade we shall learn that the genealogy was prepared for a consideration by a Brahman pandit from Benares, in order to overcome the Brahman prejudice against the coronation of a Sudra king. The omission by Mr Takakhav to state all the facts may have been accidental but it is unfortunate.

Sir William Hunter was ill advised, no doubt, to deny Shivaji a place in his Rulers of India series for the empire which he founded endured for a century and extended before its overthrow by the British in 1818 from the Indus on the north almost to the southern extremity of the peninsula. We may agree also that it was unjust on the part of that eminent man to affirm that the great Maratha won his supremacy by treachery assassination and hard fighting. The first two are relative terms and regard must be had to the period in which Shivaji lived. As for the 'hard fighting' Mr Rawlinson has pointed out perfectly correctly that Shivaji was seldom called upon to face a really skilful adversary in the field and promptly surrendered when a capable leader such as Raja Jai Singh was sent against him. On the other hand it is no less unhistorical and partial to elevate Shivaji as Mr Kincaid and his friends do to the position of the greatest man who ever lived. Nor can common sense acquiesce in the line of argument adopted by the late Mr B. G. Tilak who maintained that Shivaji must not be judged by the standard applied to ordinary men. *In medio tutissimus ibis*.

An Englishman will probably be pronounced unfit to arrive at a correct appreciation of the personality and the career of this extraordinary personage. But surely the merit of Shivaji lies in the fact that he awakened the national spirit of the Marathas and taught them that it was possible to unite in a common enterprise against the Muhammadan intruder. He succeeded in so far as he overturned the rickety throne of the Moguls, and if his labours ultimately ended in failure it was because caste jealousies supervened as they invariably will in any Hindu movement. There was much in his civil organization that commands admiration and as a guerrilla chief he had few equals. The memorial at Poona of which the Prince of Wales laid the foundation stone on November 19 worthily commemorates the name and fame of one of the most fascinating and, it must be confessed, elusive figures in Indian history.

THE ANGAMI NAGAS WITH SOME NOTES ON NEIGHBOURING TRIBES
By J H Hutton C I E M A. of the Indian Civil Service. Published
by direction of the Assam Administration (*Macmillan and Co*)
1921 40s net.

(Reviewed by H E A COTTON C I E.)

At the close of September last Sir Richard Temple took advantage of the meeting of the British Association at Edinburgh to make a strong appeal for the establishment of an Imperial School of Applied Anthropology. Traders, administrators, and missionaries in the outposts of the Empire should (he maintained) be equipped with sufficient knowledge to enable them to deal on a basis of sympathetic insight and understanding with the alien and often backward races with whom they are brought in contact. The need for such a course of preliminary study demands no demonstration. Happily much valuable work is already being done, and Mr Hutton's volume on the Angami Nagas furnishes yet another reminder of the debt of gratitude which we owe to the members of the Indian Civil Service in this connection.

The province of Assam at the far north eastern corner of India, is a museum of nationalities. The fertile valley of the Brahmaputra which intersects it, has been raided for many centuries from Burma on the one side and from India on the other, and the raiders have left behind a remarkable store of curiosities in languages, races, and religions. The Assam hill tracts contain still more ancient collections of humanity since they have been the lairs to which older nations have retreated before the pressure which a more abundant and a more resourceful population has concentrated upon the productive lands which fringe the river. Until quite recently this museum has remained uncatalogued or at any rate, undescribed in a systematic catalogue. But in 1903 Sir Bampfylde Fuller who was then Chief Commissioner of Assam proposed and the Government of India sanctioned the preparation of a series of monographs on the more important tribes and castes of the province. As a result valuable studies have already been published of the Garos, the Khasis, the Jacharis, the Naga tribes of Manipur, and the Lushai Kuki clans. The present volume follows the same scheme of treatment and forms a worthy addition to the series. Mr Hutton's official association with Assam dates only from 1912, and he informs us in his preface that his book was ready for publication in 1915, but the knowledge of his subject which he displays is so comprehensive that it is difficult not to believe it to be the outcome of the labours of a lifetime. He has, of course, profited largely by the researches of such men as the Butlers, father and son, Colonel Woodthorpe, Peal, Davis, and McCabe, but there is evidence upon almost every page of an intense personal interest, and it is pleasant to note that he acknowledges his obligations to the many Nagas who assisted him in the collection of his information.

The Naga tribes of whom the Angamis form the most important section, inhabit the strip of irregular hills which run southward from the eastern ends of the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal, and divide Assam

from Burma Next to the Angamis come the Rengmas (of whom a portion is known as "the naked Rengmas ") then the Lhotas. North and east of the Lhotas are the Aos and east of the Aos are the Semas. Various origins have been ascribed to the race It must suffice to say that on the basis of language Sir George Grierson assigns them to the second wave of emigration that of the Tibeto-Burmans, which took its rise in the traditional cradle of the Indo Chinese family in North Western China, between the upper waters of the Yang tse kiang and the Ho-ang ho Of their early history little is known, but Tavernier in the latter half of the seventeenth century refers to people living in Assam who wore pigs tusks on their caps and very few clothes and had great holes for ear rings through the lobes of their ears—fashions which survive among the Nagas to the present day The first Europeans to enter the hills were Captains Jenkins and Pemberton who marched through them in 1832 Between 1839 and 1851 it became necessary to despatch ten military expeditions against the tribesmen mostly to punish raids In 1851 the British forces were withdrawn and raiding recommenced to such an extent that in 1866 a political officer was stationed at Samaguting More bloodshed followed at intervals and a number of British officers lost their lives The district was not pacified until in 1880 it came under the wise and firm rule of the late Mr R B McCabe, who met his death in the great Shillong earthquake of 1897 There are now two sub-divisions—the one at Kohima in the Angami country where the Deputy Commissioner resides and the other in the Ao country at Mokokchang

The social unit among the Angamis is not the village but the *kelhu* or exogamous clan of which there are several in each village Great rivalry exists between the *kelhus* which led, prior to the British occupation to bitter feuds This is the more remarkable as a man is compelled to take his wife from some *kelhu* other than his own There is little trace among them or other Nagas of the system of matriarchy which prevails among the Khasis and the Garos and the family is organized on a patriarchal basis The custom which has attracted the most attention and which differentiates the Nagas from the other sub-Himalayan tribes is their craving for human heads Nowadays of course the tiresome prejudices of the British have put a stop to the real thing and the distinctive marks of a successful warrior have perforce to be assumed on the fictitious grounds of having thrust a spear into a corpse or even of having gone as a coolie upon an expedition on which killing took place Nevertheless, says Mr Hutton though the flesh is withheld, the spirit is willing and he tells a delightful story of a Naga clerk of the Deputy Commissioner's staff, educated in speech and civilized in dress, who having failed to provide himself with a spear on the occasion of the taking of a village in unadministered territory, was seen dancing in vociferous triumph over the corpse of an enemy and with horrid yells plunging his umbrella again and again into the wounds

In point of religion the Nagas are purely animistic For stones they entertain a peculiar reverence, and certain villages boast a pair of stones,

male and female, which (like the town councillors gondolas) breed and produce offspring yearly. The whole of the fourth part of the book is devoted to an exhaustive account of the prevailing cults and beliefs, and the curious reader may there learn the difference between *ginna*, *penna*, and *kenna*, which are all forms of *tabu*. Under the head of legends, note may be taken of the story that a village exists somewhere in the north-east peopled entirely by women. This is a widespread myth of which Mr Hutton gives numerous examples ranging from Marco Polo and Hiuen Tsiang to Sir George Scott's Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States.

A word needs to be said, in conclusion in commendation of the maps and illustrations with which the volume is liberally provided. Both are excellent. The frontispiece is a reproduction in colours of a sketch by Colonel Woodthorpe (now in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford) of an Angami warrior.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE. By E. J. Thompson B.A. M.C. The Heritage of India Series. Pp. xiii + 112. (Oxford University Press) 2s. 6d.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS F.R.S.L. F.R.HIST.S.)

It is some years since Mr Ernest Rhys wrote his biographical study of Rabindranath Tagore for Western readers which at the time was the only book on the subject. Mr E. J. Thompson, Principal of the Wesleyan College, Bankura, has just published an appreciative summary on the life and work of one of the greatest men of modern India. He surveys the poet's early life and literary apprenticeship and gives an account of the many-sided activities of his maturer years as a poet, creative artist, reformer and seer. His book is an admirable conspectus of the poet's life and work based on sound judgment and first-hand knowledge. Mr Thompson has been for years a friend of Tagore and is therefore in a position to write authoritatively on the subject. He has alluded to certain facts in his book which Mr Rhys omitted, although the latter's book merits commendation.

We quite agree with Mr Thompson that Tagore has always been a first-rate letter writer, whether in public or private correspondence. That among contemporary poets Tagore stands foremost in Bengal is undisputed, but we side with the headmaster who said to Mr Thompson that "there can be no comparison between Michael Dutt and Rabindranath."

We also endorse the headmaster's opinion that the elder poet (Dutt) is immeasurably the greater, especially in point of style, his style being faultless and superb. Michael Dutt was a genius and attained a standard of scholarship which was far superior to that of Tagore. He mastered English, French, Bengali and knew Latin and Greek well enough to dive deep into the beauties of the classical literature of Europe. Mr Thompson has justly described his 'Meghnadbadh', a poem in blank verse in the Homeric manner, as 'the darling work of Bengal'. Like Milton, Michael Dutt was extremely learned and well read in the great epics of the world (and in this respect he surpasses Tagore), the beauties of which

can alone be discovered through classical learning. As a student Tagore has never taken pains to distinguish himself in fact he hardly crossed the threshold of a university whereas Michael Dutt was a *prince* among scholars both at Hindu College and at Bishop's College, Calcutta, where he had the inestimable advantage of learning classical languages under most eminent English professors. Both were born of wealthy parents.

We are told that Tagore always prepares his lectures as definite arguments and reads them verbatim before his audience. We never heard him deliver an extempore lecture in English either in England, America or in India. Of course he is a poet and not a trained speaker, but Michael Dutt could deliver an extempore lecture in English, and had such a wonderful command over the language that he won the admiration of the most fastidious English critics of the day. We quite agree with Mr Thompson that an examination of 'Rabindranath's English' soon shows that it is by no means perfect grammatically. It contains sentences which no educated Englishman would have written—sentences marked by little subtle errors. But people who live in glass houses should at least be careful. Surely Mr Thompson would not allow any of his pupils to perpetrate a metaphor such as we find in p. 35—he 'ploughed his way through such a cloud of detraction'. Some critics hold the opinion that Tagore writes English with as much grace as Bengali. But this is almost impossible for foreigners even for scholars like the late Messrs R. C. Dutt, Lalmohun Ghose, N. N. Ghose and Mr Sarat Kumar Ghose who though brought up in England, could not attain an Englishman's mastery of English. Some allowance should therefore be made for Tagore. Mr Thompson has justly pointed out in his book that Mr W. B. Yeats's famous Introduction to *Gitanjali* is most eloquent and movingly written. But a vein of misconception runs through it from time to time outcropping to the surface definite misstatements. Mr Yeats's name carries so much authority that the wrong perspective of his essay has done as much as any thing, even Mr Rhys's book towards the misunderstanding of Rabindranath in the West, which is the most valuable criticism we have come across since the publication of '*Gitanjali*'.

It is a pity that Tagore is engaged nowadays merely in translating his works and not in writing anything new in Bengali. As Mr Thompson remarks, Rabindranath has enemies as well as admirers in Bengal and it is very difficult to ascertain from them his right place in the great roll of the poets. But without hesitation we greet him in the words of Dr K. M. Bannerjee, 'Hail, Valmiki Nightingale'. Surely there could not be a better interpreter of the spirit of the East to the West than Dr Tagore. We do not agree with those opinions of our litterateurs of Bengal as there prevails among them the same jealousy and rivalry as among the literary men of any other country.

It may interest our readers to learn that there were two other contemporaries of Tagore who died a few years ago—Mr D. L. Roy and Mr Rajanikanta Sen of Rajshahi. They were equally gifted as Tagore, if not superior. Some of Rajanikanta's work suggests a new departure in

Bengalee poetry He had a haunting melody combined with depth of feeling which Dr Tagore sometimes lacked. The popular national anthem which we sing in Bengal is from the pen of Mr D L Roy

Mr Thompson is one of the few missionary scholars in India who can appreciate and study sympathetically our Bengalee life and literature, and hence what he has written on Tagore is well worthy of perusal

INDIAN TALES MYSTERY, MIRAGE, AND MIRACLE. By Alain Raffin.
(London *William Asirs and Co* 86, Richmond Road Earl's Court)
6s net.

(Reviewed by CAPTAIN SEROCOLD SAEELS)

A collection of stories dealing *inter alia* with fakirs and pre knowledge as to birth of children a dream of buried treasure which turned out to be charcoal, the inexplicable transportation of a baby from a bed to a locked cupboard and the usual hauntings, including a head which took away a purse in its mouth

The author claims that all these events have actually occurred but changes most of the names of the persons and places concerned This robs the book of value to the psychical researcher though it may be found very entertaining to the voracious seeker after wonders

To a student of the occult the most interesting of the stories is that of a man who, on board ship received a vivid impression that when he got to Singapore he would receive a letter from Hunt saying that Castle was dead Some weeks later *Castle* met the boat, and told the narrator of the story that *Hunt* was dead

This reversal of roles is quite intelligible to the psychic student and to our mind the author rightly ascribes the explanation to the fact that a telepathic impression, before reaching the mind has to pass through a subconscious mind and then gets coloured or distorted Incidentally we wonder if this can be the origin of the proverb that dreams go by contraries

The volume well illustrated is bound in cloth absolutely water insect, and mildew proof, an important consideration for those who take books to the tropics

BOOKS FROM INDIA

SRI KRISHNA THE SAVIOUR OF HUMANITY By Professor T L Vaswani
(Madras *Ganesh and Co*) Re 1

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

Professor Vaswani is evidently in love with his subject He is deeply imbued with devotion for the personal God rather than the Abstraction of Attributes which sometimes takes his place, for the personal God who plays sweet music on the flute, charms the adoring milkmaids, strengthens the wavering soul of Arjuna on the battle field, and calls the world "to a love of the infinite Ideal. Here he has, or ought to have, the entire sympathy of the reader for he holds up for the worship of India that

great Avatar of Vishnu who is to the devout Hindu what Christ is to the devout Christian. European readers may quarrel with the transcendental style of the book to them, perhaps, a more obvious rationalism would make a stronger appeal than the prose poetry of the Professor's rhapsody. But if it appeals to the more emotional temperament of the Indian to whom it is addressed, there is no need to criticize on these lines, and so long as the book confines itself as outwardly at least it does throughout, to the purifying of Indian lives, to the call for self sacrifice, devotion, and love which will drive out malice, and greed and ambition, the essays are as unexceptionable as the language is powerful. Many of the illustrations with which the Professor illuminates his prophesyings are of great tenderness. We may perhaps, choose especially the story of the lad in the woods who could not summon Krishna to his friend because that friend had not love in his heart or the tale of the girl who watching for the King took in a starving woman and then going out to see the King and not finding him, returned to find that the woman was herself the King.

While Professor Viswani has our sympathy in his controversy with the missionary over Krishna and Christ inasmuch as he takes the broader and more human rather than the narrow dogmatic view the interpretation which he gives to the story of Krishna and the naked milkmaids seems strained and artificial. It may be a beautiful conception of the naked soul coming to God having put off the vain things of this earth and surrendering itself in utter abasement it looks more like those unworthy stories which one would rather regard as later excrescences on the purer character of the early Krishna.

Unfortunately Professor Vaswani seems unable to conceal that all the while he is really preaching politics. To purify the soul that it may be fit to meet its God to purge human life of the vices which degrade humanity so that the life of the individual and the life of the nation may be exalted—this is to preach a very high ideal, to purify the soul so that the individual and through the individual the nation, may obtain Swaraj is to fall headlong to a vastly lower plane. Professor Vaswani is a disciple of Mr Gandhi and he has this merit that his writing is far more consistent than that of his teacher. Nevertheless, one is obsessed throughout by the feeling that the motive power is not really the high ideal but the lower objective. The feeling may be mistaken, and in that hope we wish Professor Vaswani well so long as he keeps to pure philosophy.

NEAR EAST

BARBARY, THE ROMANCE OF THE NEAREST EAST By A. MacCallum
Scott, M.P. (*Butterworth*) 12s 6d. net

Archæology and Literature, History and important political aspects, are brought before the reader happily blended in the twenty three chapters which commend themselves for their brevity in Mr MacCallum Scott's interesting book. Problems concerning the founders of the Bronze Age, of whom traces are found at the back of the Phœnician

culture in Barbary, are treated in a facile yet erudite manner and the Stonehenge, that grandest megalithic monument in Britain is brought into relation with the discoveries of Archaeologists in the land that lies between the Mediterranean and the desert once the cradle of high civilization

Among the numerous illustrations there are two which cannot fail to excite the interest of the reader. One, on p. 179 represents a Phœnician priestess found on the lid of a sarcophagus in a tomb of the fourth century B.C. on the site of old Carthage. It rivals the first productions in Greek and Roman art. The author in his admiration of this type of noble womanhood which has come down to us across the ages after describing the horrors of the Baal worship with its human sacrifices against which the Israelites, to their great credit were always opposed, emphasizes the fact that a cult which could produce so fair a flower could not have been entirely sordid and degrading. The other, the so called Venus of Cherchel (on p. 34) now one of the glories of the Algiers Museum was discovered on the site of that ancient town of Cæsarea where Selene reigned as queen the daughter of Cleopatra and Anthony with her consort King Juba II a descendant of Masinissa King of Numidia. This highly cultured pair both adopted children of the noble minded Octavia sister of Augustus caused the town of Cæsarea to grow into a second Carthage, known during their reign as the Athens of the West. But already their son Ptolemy stood in the path of Rome and consequently this kingdom was incorporated in the Empire whilst he was starved to death in a dungeon in Rome. The chapters where Mr Maccallum Scott recalls Robert Hichens powerful novel *The Garden of Allah* which has made the town of Biskra almost a place of pilgrimage to every traveller in Barbary are very suggestive in their criticism as also is his view on Flaubert's *Salambo*. And in this connection I would say that his own book will prove to be a most valuable companion to all those who can leave the north in the grim winter and go where sunshine pervades—to the land of Barbary.

A word in conclusion on the political aspects endorsed by the author. We agree with him when he says that the French have worked miracles in Algiers and Tunis and other cities since they have taken up the task of the Romans to Europeanize again a country which has been sterilized since the Arab and Moslem invasion. But he seems to be in doubt whether the French who play now so well the role of the assimilators will not end by being themselves assimilated. He fears the adamant attribute of Islam. But times are changing. We can observe this especially in the Near East in Turkey where the Osmanlis understand and take part in world evolutions. France is certainly trying a new experiment in her treatment of the Arabs, and she may be the first European nation to solve a difficult problem. But let us wait and see

L. M. R.

FRENCH BOOK

SUPRÊMES VISIONS D'ORIENT By Pierre Loti et son Fils Samuel
Viaud Twenty first Edition (*Calmann Lévy*) 1921

(Reviewed by E N BENNETT)

This volume perhaps the last of the series which commenced with the delightful "Aziyadé," contains a number of more or less connected reminiscences during the years 1910-13, together with four brief chapters which deal with the Greeks and their invasion of Anatolia. In September, 1913, Pierre Loti left his beloved Stamboul 'pour jamais sans doute', but if it does come to pass that the writer's weight of years—he is seventy two—renders this parting a final one, there is, at any rate little to show in the concluding pages of this charming volume that old age has yet diminished his spiritual enthusiasm or his power of literary expression.

An undercurrent of almost unrelieved sadness runs through these pages. The writer, prostrated for weeks during his last sojourn in Constantinople by a serious and baffling fever, endured the added suffering of a complete failure in his characteristic search for the grave of a girl he had loved in the far off days of his early manhood. And worst perhaps of all this devoted and sincere lover of Turkey and her people had lived to see Constantinople occupied by Western enemies and the gallant remnants of the Ottoman forces struggling against terrific odds for the independence of what was left them of their territory.

The book has already reached its twenty first edition and had England possessed a Pierre Loti of her own the dense clouds of ignorance and prejudice which usually conceal the true facts of the Middle East from the eyes of the British Public might have been from time to time dispersed. At the close of this the last effort of his life on behalf of his Turkish friends Pierre Loti makes a final appeal to the English people recognized by him as the 'implacable rivals' of his own nation but still endowed with a measure of dignity and noblesse.

"Let England arise," he cries, "and free herself from the blighting control of the profiteers and financiers who have maddened the dwellers in Ireland, India and Egypt, and now at the bidding of oil magnates, *et hoc genus omne* seek the extermination of the Turkish race. Europe is dull and apathetic," says the author, "and willing to accept the stupid *mot d'ordre* of Lloyd George that no testimony or information coming from a Moslem source need ever be considered."

BOOKS FROM AMERICA

VENIZELOS. By Herbert Adams Gibbons (Boston, Mass. *Houghton, Mifflin and Co.*) \$4.50.

(Reviewed by F R SCATCHERD)

The inauguration of a series of biographies of statesmen who have played a leading rôle in the Great War and after by that of the ex-Greek Premier was a happy thought. Strange that so unique a personality as

that of the Cretan leader should have, up to the present failed to bring to light his Boswell. Nevertheless Mr Gibbons's special qualifications have enabled him to discharge his onerous task with judgment and impartiality, and his "Venizelos" is decidedly the best achievement of its kind.

Especial attention should be given to the chapter "A Revolutionary by Profession" as it enables the psychologist to grasp what most writers of the time have failed to understand—viz. that the downfall of M. Venizelos was inevitable when he persisted in the course upon which he had embarked some two years before the catastrophe that closed his political career.

From 1899 to 1909 his fellow Cretans we are told regarded their leader as erratic and 'unreasonable'. His greatest admirers deemed him a gambler; the Chancelleries of Europe held him to be a dangerous mischief maker, while the High Commissioner and officials detested him.

The clue to his perplexing conduct, hidden from all perhaps at first even from himself, is given by Mr Gibbons. From the outset he regarded all settlements of the Cretan question other than that of union with Greece, as purely transitional.

'Why do you not put yourselves in our hands? You know we have already freed Crete, all except in name, and if you work with the Powers your day will come more quickly than by forcing our hand and compelling us to oppose you.'

To this remonstrance of a British naval officer during the Cretan rising of 1897 M. Venizelos replied in terms that Mr Gibbons regards as the history of the last hundred years in the Near East. Said Mr Venizelos:

'European policy is invariably the maintenance of the *status quo* and you will do nothing for the subject races unless we by taking the initiative make you realize that helping us against the Turks is the lesser of two evils.'

'D—— it all the beggar is right!' wrote the British officer and I hope we shan't have to shoot him.

Mr Gibbons in his final chapter and indeed throughout, criticizes the actions of the Powers with a frank severity that throws valuable light upon the attitude of the New World to the time honoured traditions of Old-World diplomacy and one awaits with interest his comments on Greece's rejection of its former leader which he anticipated as little as did the persons chiefly concerned.

THE MAKING OF AMERICA. By Lillian Dalton. Illustrations by John Napper. (Stead's Shilling Series.) *Stead's Publishing House* Kingsway W.C. 2

(Reviewed by F. R. SCATCHERD)

English reading children all over the world will rejoice in these thrilling stories of the making of that New World which is exercising an ever growing influence upon the destiny of humanity.

'An egg floating seaward, a rusty chain and a New World. What have these to do with each other?' Thus opens the story of Christopher Columbus.

John Smith's adventures are less well known but they form a tale of breathless interest. There are many John Smiths to-day quite as daring and unselfish. 'He would rather want than borrow, or starve than not pay—he loved actions more than words, and hated falsehood worse than death.'

Miss Dalton is a gifted writer for the young of all ages and it is to be hoped that she will be induced to turn her attention to the heroic events connected with the making of that Community of Nations known as the British Empire.

The two shilling edition, bound in cloth, is well adapted for a school prize or birthday present.

SHORTER NOTICES

THE CIVILIAN'S SOUTH INDIA By 'Civilian' (*The Bodley Head*)
12s 6d. net

The author is anxious as is pointed out in the preface to show 'that there are other parts of India besides the Punjab. Recent political events have brought this fact home to the general reader. It is written in an easy style, and is suitable for light reading.

LETTERS FROM CHINA AND JAPAN By John Dewey and Alice C. Dewey
(*Dent*) 9s net

The author who is Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University and his wife here record to their children in the form of letters their experiences and impressions on a pleasure trip. The chapters dealing with the political events in China during the year 1919 are of special interest.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEA ON THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF JAPAN By
Vice Admiral G. A. Ballard C.B. (*Murray*) 18s net

This book traces the rise of Japan as a sea power from the Korean War of the sixteenth century to the present day. The Russo-Japanese War is carefully studied and the last chapter deals with those problems which are being considered by the Washington Conference. The author pleads for a spirit of mutual concessions and points out that racial differences cannot be abolished by the League of Nations.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDIAN POLICY (1818-1858) By G. Anderson
C.I.E., M.A., and M. Subedar B.A. B.Sc. (*Bell*) 5s net

The above is the second of three volumes on the theme of "The Last Days of the Company," and is designed to be a source book for students of this period of Indian History. The general arrangement of the book is admirable, and encourages the reader to exercise his own judgment upon the authorities cited.

THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE HUMAN RACE. By A. Churchward
(*Allen and Unwin*) 45s net

The conclusions of the author of this excellently illustrated book are that man originated in Africa, and that the evolution of the human race

can still be traced from the lowest type of original man. This work forms an important companion volume to Professor Arthur Keith's "Antiquity of Man".

COLLOQUIAL ARABIC. By G. J. Letham M.A. LL.B. (*Crown Agents for the Colonies*) 15s. net.

The above is an admirable textbook for students of the Shuwa dialect of Bornu, Nigeria and the region of Lake Chad. It is a variety of Sudanese Arabic. The book is divided into three parts: (1) Grammar, (2) selections of short sayings, proverbs, rhymes, etc. (3) vocabulary. Arabic characters are not given but a system of transliteration has been adopted to show not only the colloquial pronunciation but also to indicate the correct Arabic spelling, in the Arabic character, when known of any word given.

THE HISTORY OF PERSIA. By Brigadier General Sir Percy Sykes. Second Edition (*Macmillan*).

It is a remarkable event that a learned work such as the above has attained a second edition in so short a time. The fact is that the two volumes are so replete with learning and scholarship that a new edition has been a long felt want. Moreover the author has wisely brought this monumental work up to date by a series of chapters ending with the present situation. General Dunsterville's mission is fully described and the work ends with an appeal to the upper classes in Persia. But this is only part of the author's new work. All the other chapters have been brought up to date in the light of fresh information.

Messrs. Probsthain have just issued a large Sanskrit Catalogue which we understand, is the largest yet published in England with the whole of Sanskrit Literature. Here are to be found the rare edition of the White Yajur Veda, edited by A. Weber, Boethlingh and Roth's Standard Sanskrit Dictionary, Max Muller's edition of the Rîg Veda.

There are also sections on Art, Religion and Philosophy, Sikh and Parsi Literature. The Catalogue is systematically arranged and can serve as a general guide to Sanskrit Literature.

Messrs. Probsthain deserve all praise for the clear arrangement of this difficult work.

We have received by courtesy of the Netherlands Consul General in London a copy of 'The Year Book of the Netherlands East Indies' (1920). This annual publication of nearly 300 pages, embellished with maps and beautiful photographs, seems to us indispensable for all those who take an interest in the Dutch colonies in Asia. The historical portion which appeared in early editions has been dispensed with and the introductory matter entitled Geographical Description now only occupies twenty pages. We think that the section devoted to the press might be lengthened and some description added of the scope and subjects of the various periodicals that are mentioned as well as their price.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

CONTENTS *East India Association—School of Oriental Studies—India Society—Central Asian Society—Royal Colonial Institute—Near and Middle Eastern Association—Caucasian Dinner—Sociological Society—Persia Society—Japan Society*

THE Proceedings of the East India Association will be found on pp 52 *seq* of this issue. The next meeting will be held on Monday January 23, when Mr H E A Cotton, C I E, will read his paper on 'Castes and Customs of Malabar'. The Right Hon Lord Pentland, G C S I, G C I E, has kindly promised to take the chair at 3.30 p.m. at the Caxton Hall.

The following lectures at the School of Oriental Studies should prove of special interest to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW

INDIA AND ITS PROBLEMS

Ten Lectures, with lantern slide illustrations are being delivered by Sir John G Cumming, K C I E, C S I, M A, F R G S former Member, Executive Council of Bengal at the School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus E C 2, on Mondays at 6 p.m. beginning October 10 (omitting October 31) Fee 4s (out country teachers 10s)

Syllabus—I A General Territorial and Political Survey II Social and Racial Differences III Agricultural and Economic Development IV Trade and Industry V Educational Policy VI Law and Order VII Village Home Life VIII Religions and Sects IX India as seen through the Eyes of Western Travellers and Writers X Administration Past, Present and Future

CHINA

Ten lectures by Dr Hopkyn Rees University Reader in Chinese School of Oriental Studies, at the School Finsbury Circus E C 2 on Mondays at 6 p.m., beginning January 23. Fee 4s (out-country teachers, 10s)

Syllabus—I China and the West II The Transformation of China III Religion in China IV Government in China V The Chinese People VI Chinese Folk lore VII Chinese Superstitions VIII Chinese Fiction

The *India Society* is publishing immediately "The Sind Mystic Shah Abdul Latif" being a short account of his life and work by M M Gidvani, M A (Lecturer in English, Elphinstone College, Bombay). Professor Strykowski has been invited to lecture before the Society on January 2 on "Indo-Persian Painting". At the Annual Meeting, held on November 18 Professor T W Rhys Davids was re-elected President of the Society, and Sir J H Marshall, K C I E, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, LITT D, and Robert Bridges, LITT D, its Vice Presidents.

There was a meeting of the *Central Asian Society* on December 8, when Colonel E B Howell, C S I, C I E, read a paper on the "Turkish Land

Laws and their Land Revenue System as applied to Iraq" Lord Carnock was in the chair. The lecturer drew an interesting parallel between the Roman and Turkish land systems. He compared the Imperial Land Office at Constantinople with the *Tabellarium Cæsaris*. The practice of farming the taxes was also common to both systems. Comparing Iraq with India, he declared that the former had suffered from the absence of the genius manifested by Akbar.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer testified to the ability of Akbar. An equitable system of land tenure and land assessment was imperative in any country if she is to survive. The lack of it had caused the French and Russian revolutions. The Turks also had shown incompetence. They had sought to impose from above, while the British in India had reversed the process and always began the inquiry on the spot, working upwards. Hence it was not only equitable, but also a miracle of accuracy.

At a meeting of the *Royal Colonial Institute* on November 8, a paper on India and Some Problems by Viscount Chelmsford, was read by Viscountess Chelmsford. The chair was taken by the Marquess of Crewe. The paper was in the form of a time table of the daily duties of the Viceroy of India. Special points were (i) The smallness of the staff of the Government of India compared to Home Departments, (ii) their high quality (iii) the initiation of the reforms has coincided with the rise in prices and the fall in the purchasing power of money. In the subsequent discussion Lord Meston pointed out that the Viceroy had gained enormously by having had previous experience in the administration of democratic countries like the Dominions. The lecture with discussion, appears in the December issue of *United Empire* which is as usual replete with interesting information.

A new society has been formed with the name *The Near and Middle East Association*. Among its objects are

'To maintain a sympathetic attitude towards Moslem sentiment in the British Empire and the Moslem world at large by advocating—

(a) That no settlement between Turkey, Greece, and the Powers can be satisfactory that does not restore Constantinople, Eastern Thrace, and Anatolia, including Smyrna, to the Ottoman Empire, in accordance with Mr Lloyd George's pledge that we were not fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race.

"(b) That for commercial, strategic and political reasons it is to our interest that friendly relations with the Ottoman Empire should be renewed and promoted in every possible way.

All correspondence and enquiries should be sent to the Acting Hon Secretary, Captain E. N. Bennett, J.P., 12, Prince Arthur Road, Hampstead, London, N.W. 3.

On December 10 a *conversazione* was held at the London Muslim House, 111, Camden Hill Road, W. 8, to meet the Khwaja Kamal ud-din, recently returned from India.

A Caucasian Dinner was held at the Lyceum Club on December 5. In the subsequent discussion Madame Zarchi took the chair, and among the guests were the three representatives of the Caucasian states—viz., Prince Sombatoff (Georgia), General Bagratoun (Armenia), Mir Jagoub Mohtiev (Azerbaijan). Madame Manna Karine rendered Armenian folk-songs, and the distinguished company included Lord Clifford, Mr and Mrs. Lo Chong Mr Fetradjian, Mr Brayley Hodgetts and Miss Robinson.

The Sociological Society is giving increasing attention to political questions. In the summer Mr Sastri gave an address and on November 22 Mr R. W. Seton Watson gave a lecture on "The Successors of Austria-Hungary: Some of their Problems." The *Sociological Review* is being made available to the general public at 5s per issue. This review contains the proceedings of the Society, a series of articles and a literary supplement. On December 20 Mr Christopher Dawson spoke on a new theory of history.

The *Persia Society* held a meeting on November 15. Lord Lamington took the chair, and a paper was read by Mr Gugushvili (Secretary of the Georgian Legation) on "The Bolsheviks and the Middle East." The lecturer insisted that the ambitions of Bolshevism were identical with those of Imperial Russia where the Middle East was concerned. He also gave an interesting description of the Bolshevik army. Mr W. E. D. Allen in a short speech drew attention to the civilizing influence of Russia in Asia during the Tsarist régime.

The Independence Day of Czecho-Slovakia was celebrated on October 28 at the Portman Rooms. Mr F. P. Marchant compared the new state to Sparta and to Athens. Its President was combining the virtues of Pericles and Epaminondas. On the following Sunday the annual thanksgiving service was held at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road, in the presence of the Czecho-Slovak Minister. A moving address was delivered by that great friend of small nationalities in Eastern Europe, the Rev. T. Hunter Boyd. A copy of the Czech Bible was presented to the Rev. Dr. Poole by Mr A. C. Shlehover.

The *Japan Society* has held two meetings this autumn. Mr Gerald Mere lectured on "Japanese Women, Ancient and Modern." The Japanese Ambassador took the chair and in the course of a humorous speech recalled that a Japanese woman named 'Jingo' (*sic*) had led in the past a great expedition of conquest. A vote of thanks to the lecturer was proposed by Mr Arthur Diosy.

On December 9 Mr W. L. Schwartz, M.A., Professor of Stanford University, U.S.A., read a paper on "The Potters and Pottery of Satsuma." The lecture was illustrated by some admirable slides. On January 13 Mr Malden will speak on Japan, and show a series of lantern slides from his own photographs.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

RUSSIA'S RECOVERY

4 BRUNSWICK PLACE LONDON N W 1

December 1 1921

SIR,—Not every proverb is a good guide. Some are even misleading, take for instance One soldier does not constitute a regiment. In the first place, there could be no regiment at all unless there had once been a single soldier Secondly, anyone who works hard must have the conviction that his work, being good, should succeed, and that, through his moral influence, he may gain power sooner or later, at all events, over his fellows No defender of truth must allow his energy to be paralyzed merely because he does not immediately find outside support He must look for inspiration to his own heart and soul The task I recommend is undoubtedly not an easy one. Yet characters of this kind can be found—as, for instance, the American Ambassador in London at the time of the outbreak of the Great War His letters to President Wilson, published in the November issue of *World's Work* offer a noble example, which has received the unstinted praise of Viscount Grey who said "Mr Page is one of the finest illustrations I have ever known of the value of character in a public man But appreciations of this kind even when obtained, are only secured after much effort Here is Mr Page's own statement regarding his difficulties at the commencement of the war

' Those two first days there was of course, great confusion Crazy men and weeping women were imploring and cursing and demanding—God knows, it was bedlam turned loose I have been called a man of the greatest genius for an emergency by some, by others an absolute fool by others every epithet between these extremes

Men shook English banknotes in my face and demanded United States money, and swore our Government and its agents ought to be shot. Women expected me to hand them steamship tickets home When some found out that they could not get tickets on the transports (which they assumed would sail the next day), they accused me of favouritism These absurd experiences will give you a hint of the panic

But there is a saying which I sincerely like "To lose money is to lose nothing, to lose courage is to lose everything (including, I would add, Christian Faith) Let the single upholder of truth cling to his courage as a soldier follows a banner

Such a soldier should command a hearing, even when defending a cause which has gone out of fashion The Russian Monarchical Party in

Berlin, the President of which is M. Markoff, have published a pamphlet* by V. Rudneff with a preface by M. Garandin, the contents of which are undoubtedly a revelation. M. Rudneff was Vice-Procurator of the Legal Council of Ekaterinoslav. During the disgraceful Kerensky Government, he received a special commission to study all the documents relating to the rulers in Russia, both the Imperial family and those in official circles. But, to the surprise and great indignation of those who had appointed him, M. Rudneff, being an honest man, wrote nothing but the truth and described facts as he actually found them, with integrity and courage. By that act M. Rudneff became one of those single soldiers, already he has become one of a regiment—the Russian Monarchical Party—and undoubtedly his efforts will bear increasing fruit.

Now the two positions of the late Mr. Page and of M. Rudneff may be very different, but their devotion to truth made them akin.

Ah, yes, thank God, there are still good examples in this degenerate, atheistic world which we ought to find and follow courageously. Then help—unexpected, unforeseen and unknown help—is sure to come sooner or later. The spread of monarchical views contains the germ of salvation. Do not laugh at my dogmatic tone. I base my assertions on concrete facts.

OLGA NOVIKOFF (née KIREEFF).

ARTICLES TO NOTE

The November issue of *Colonies et Marine* contains an interesting article by Pierre Cancelade on French influence in Shanghai and Tokyo. The French Athenæum in the latter city was founded in September 1913 but since the war it has made rapid progress in propagating knowledge of French art and literature. The Académie Française is offering an annual prize for proficiency in these subjects. The same issue makes long quotations from this year's articles of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* on Japan, and particularly on India.

We have just received the first issue of a new Indian magazine entitled *The Journal of Indian History*. The editor is Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt.D. F.R.Hist.S., University Professor of Modern Indian History at Allahabad. Perhaps the most interesting article is one by the editor himself on the sources for the history of British India in the seventeenth century contained in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries.

Those who are interested in the Angora Treaty Question will find some interesting details published in the November issue of *L'Asie Française*. The same issue contains the correspondence that led to the Sino-German Accord of May 30, 1921.

* "The Truth about the Russian Imperial Family"

THE INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY

BY SIR JAMES WILSON K C S I

AN article written by me, and published in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for January, 1921 contained a statement showing the value of the rupee measured in gold and silver—(1) in 1913, (2) on January 31 1920, immediately before the Secretary of State announced that he would aim at giving the rupee a fixed value in exchange of 113 grains of fine gold, and (3) on October 27, 1920, after the removal of the restrictions on the import and export of gold and silver had taken effect. The changes which have taken place during the past twelve months will be seen from the table on p 166 which adds to the information previously given the state of things on October 26 1921, as shown by the quotations of that date among which were the following. In London, price of gold 104 2s per fine ounce, price of silver per ounce 92 5, fine 39 6d rate of exchange of the rupee, 16 4d, in New York price of foreign silver, 69 6 cents per fine ounce, in Calcutta price of mint bar gold, 28 8 rupees per tola of 180 grains, price of fine silver, 98 1 rupees per 100 tolas.

According to these quotations on October 26, 1921, the value of the pound sterling was 92 grains of fine gold, while the sovereign contains 113 grains, so that the value of the pound sterling was on that date 82 per cent. of the gold in a sovereign as compared with 72 per cent. a year before. The value of the rupee in pence sterling had fallen from 19 4 to 16 4, but as the value of the pound sterling in gold had risen, the value of the rupee in pence measured in gold had only fallen from 14 to 13 4, or, in other words, the value of the rupee measured in gold had fallen from

VALUE OF THE RUPEE MEASURED IN GOLD AND SILVER

	In 1913.	On Jan 31 1920	On Oct 27 1920.	On Oct. 26 1921
Value of the pound sterling in grains of gold	113	82	82	92
Value of the pound sterling as a percentage of the sovereign	100	72	72	82
Value of the sovereign (113 grains of gold) in rupees				
In London	15	11 9	17	17 9
In India	15	17	17	18 1
Value of the rupee in grains of gold				
In London	7 5	9 6	6 6	6 3
In India	7 5	6 7	6 7	6 2
Value of the rupee in pence sterling in London	16	28	19 4	16 4
Value of the rupee in pence measured in gold in London	16	20	14	13 4
Value of the rupee in grains of silver				
In London	258	149	165	184
In India	258	157	157	183
Ratio of gold to silver				
In New York	34	15 5	25 7	29 7
In London	34	15 7	25 1	29 2
In India	34	23 5	23 5	29 4

6 6 grains to 6 3 in London, and from 6 7 grains to 6 2 in Calcutta. As the Secretary of State's object was to keep the rupee stable at the rate of 11 3 grains of gold and it is now worth only about 6 3 grains, it is evident that no progress has yet been made towards the attainment of that object. Indeed the rupee is now worth less gold than the 7 5 grains it was worth when it equalled in value one-fifteenth of a sovereign. Although the rupee is now worth about the same number of pence sterling as it was worth before the war—that is, 16 pence—it is, when measured in gold now worth only 13 4 pence instead of the pre war gold value of 16 pence and the 24 pence gold value desired by the Secretary of State. Before the war the sovereign was stabilized at a value of 15 rupees. On January 31, 1920, owing to India's having been starved of gold by the restrictions on import, a sovereign was worth in India

17 rupees, although in London the 113 grains of gold contained in a sovereign could be bought for the equivalent of 12 rupees. On October 27, 1920 after the removal of the restrictions on the import of gold the sovereign was worth in India 17 rupees and it is now worth in the Indian bazaars about 18 rupees instead of the 10 rupees aimed at by the Secretary of State.

One of the reasons for this failure of the Secretary of State's currency policy has been the great fall in the gold value of silver throughout the world which took place soon after the restrictions on the movement of gold from one country to another were abolished so that countries such as India, China, and South America, which had been prevented by those restrictions from obtaining the gold they wanted, were able to satisfy their requirements and thus increase the world's effective demand for gold, while at the same time reducing its effective demand for silver. In 1913 an ounce of gold exchanged for about 34 ounces of silver all the world over. On January 31, 1920 both in New York and London, an ounce of gold exchanged for only 15.5 ounces of silver, while on the same date in India, owing to the restrictions on the import of gold and to the enormous import of silver, an ounce of gold commanded 23.5 ounces of silver. On October 27, 1920, after the restrictions had been removed, an ounce of gold exchanged for about 25 ounces of silver alike in New York, in London, and in India, and on October 26, 1921 the ratio in all three countries was about 29 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold, or not very different from the ratio of 34 to 1 which prevailed in 1913. For some time after the removal of the restrictions, the value of the rupee corresponded pretty closely with the value of the 165 grains of silver contained in it—that is, the rupee had again become linked with silver as it was before the closing of the Indian Mints, but more recently it has become again unlinked from silver, and on October 26, 1921, the rupee, which contains only 165 grains of fine silver, could purchase both

in London and in India about 184 grains. The best measure of the gold value of silver is to be got from the New York quotations, according to which in 1913 an ounce of fine silver was worth in New York about 60 cents in dollar gold, on January 31, 1920, its price had risen to 133 cents, it has now fallen to 70 cents on October 26, 1921, and to 67 cents on November 14—that is to say it is not very much above its gold price in 1913. Although the gold value of the rupee no longer closely follows that of silver, it is to a considerable extent affected by changes in the world price of silver and goes up and down when the gold value of silver rises or falls.

Before the war, owing to the measures taken by the Government of India, the rupee was closely linked to the sovereign, and its gold value remained stable at one-fifteenth of a sovereign. Now it shows no signs of becoming linked with gold, nor is it closely linked either with the gold value of silver or with the paper pound sterling. In fact, it is now a mere token coin the value of which varies according to the law of supply and demand. The supply of rupee coins has been vastly increased by the feverish issue of enormous numbers of new rupees from the mints in India, when India's urgent demand for silver, in place of the gold it was prevented from obtaining, compelled the Government at all costs to supply that demand by the issue of rupees to maintain the convertibility of its paper currency. At the same time the circulation of India's paper currency greatly increased, and added to the supply of currency. The demand for currency increased with the rise of prices in India and at the same time there was an increase in the demand for rupee coins for the purpose of hoarding, but that demand has now fallen off, partly owing to the serious drought by which India was affected last year, and a very large number of rupee coins has been returned to the Government treasuries and lies uselessly accumulated there. The quantity of silver coin and bullion in the Indian paper currency reserve on

October 31, 1921, was returned as 800 million rupees, and, as there must now be in existence something like 4,000 million rupee coins, it appears that about one-fifth of all the rupee coins in existence is lying in the reserve treasuries

The change that has taken place in the note circulation during the last twelve months will be seen from the following statement

INDIAN CURRENCY RESERVE (MILLIONS OF RUPEES)

	October 31 1920	October 31 1921
Note Circulation	1,596	1 797
Reserve—		
Silver coin and bullion in India	594	800
Gold coin and bullion in India	238	243
Government of India securities	681	671
British Government securities	83	83
Total	1 596	1 797

During these twelve months the note circulation has increased by 201 million rupees, and the reserve of silver coin and bullion has increased by 206 million rupees while the other forms of the reserve have remained practically unaltered. The gold in the reserve is valued at the statutory rate of 10 rupees to the sovereign or 113 grains of gold to the rupee, whereas the present price of gold in India is the equivalent of 18 rupees to the sovereign or 62 grains to the rupee, so that, if the gold in the currency reserve were to be sold in the open market the 243 million sovereigns' worth would fetch something like 437 million rupees instead of the 243 million rupees at which it is valued in the currency return. It should be taken credit for at its real market value, and the 194 million rupees by which that real value exceeds the present nominal value should be utilized either to reduce the very large amount

of Government of India securities held in reserve, or, better still, to recall an equivalent amount of notes from circulation without any change in the actual composition of the reserve, and thus reduce the total quantity of currency (rupees and notes) in circulation, and thereby increase the value of the rupee, whether measured in gold or in commodities, improve the value of the rupee in exchange, and reduce the present high prices of commodities, measured in rupees, which press so hardly on the masses of the population

The advantages of a large circulation of currency notes are often greatly exaggerated. It is true that by getting the people of India to accept currency notes to the value of 1,797 million rupees, the Government of India has practically borrowed that amount from the holders of these notes free of interest, but on the other hand, it has at great cost to store and guard 800 million rupee coins and gold to the value of 243 million sovereigns, and has to have recourse to the very doubtful financial expedient of putting into the reserve its own paper to the nominal value of 671 million rupees, and to find from the revenue of the year the interest payable on that large quantity of Government securities. If a full account were worked out of the net financial advantage to the Treasury of this large issue of paper currency it would be found not to amount to any large sum. On the other hand this great issue of notes adds to the quantity of currency in circulation, and therefore tends to reduce the value in exchange of the rupee coin and to keep up the rupee prices of commodities. It also proves seriously embarrassing in times of crisis. The cost to the Government of India of maintaining the convertibility of its paper currency two years ago must have been enormous.

It would, therefore, be to the advantage of the people and trade of India, and also ultimately to that of its Treasury, to make a still greater reduction in the quantity of notes in circulation. In order to do so, it would be necessary to

find the money to pay the holders of the currency notes to be withdrawn. This could be done in several ways. In the first place, the gold coin and bullion now uselessly held in the reserve to the market value of 437 million rupees could be sold, and the proceeds utilized to redeem and cancel that amount of currency notes. In the second place, a portion of the securities held in the reserve could be sold and the proceeds similarly used. In the third place a portion of the Indian gold standard reserve which on September 30, 1921 consisted of British Government securities to the value of 40 million pounds—that is, about 600 million rupees at the present rate of exchange—might be sold and the proceeds used to redeem currency notes. And in the fourth place, a part of the 800 million rupees' worth of silver coin and bullion now in the currency reserve might be utilized for this purpose but this course is not to be recommended because it would tend to increase the quantity of rupee coins in circulation, although no doubt a portion of the rupees so released would find their way into hoards. The Treasury is thus in possession of ample means to reduce the amount of notes in circulation from 1 797 million rupees to the more manageable amount of, say, 1 000 million rupees, and thus increase the value of the rupee coin both in exchange for the pound sterling and in exchange for gold or commodities. This procedure might result in the demand for currency notes exceeding the supply, and in the currency note selling at a small premium over rupee coins in the bazaar, but there would be no great harm in that. If a man having a credit of 1,000 rupees prefers a 1,000-rupee note to a bag of 1 000 rupee coins, why should he not pay a small premium for the convenience of obtaining a note, just as he pays a commission on a postal order?

The Secretary of State's *brutum fulmen* not only raised expectations which proved vain, and thereby caused great loss to many people, both in India and in this country, but it led the Indian Legislative Council to place itself in a

ridiculous position by declaring the sovereign to be legal tender in India for 10 rupees, while as a matter of fact any one having a sovereign can get about 18 rupees for it in the bazaar. It also led the Indian Finance Minister to adopt in his budget the rate of 1s. 8d. per rupee, and to estimate for a loss on exchange of 55 million rupees, in consequence of the difference between this figure and the 2s. per rupee aimed at by the Secretary of State. As the rate of exchange is now little over 1s. 4d., and as the average rate for the year is certain to be much below 1s. 8d., the nominal loss on exchange will certainly turn out to be very much larger than this estimate. The Indian budget framed on this basis is entirely misleading and far away from the facts, and it would give a much better idea of the real position of India's finances if the budget were recast in accordance with the facts, all income and expenditure in sterling being turned into rupees as nearly as possible at the actual average rate of exchange, and the item of loss on exchange thus eliminated.

In an article published in the July issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, Mr. A. F. Cox, formerly Comptroller General of India, has given an interesting account of the currency crises of 1900 and 1907, the moral of which is that it is highly dangerous to have too large an amount of notes in circulation. He practically admits the failure so far of the Secretary of State's policy but apparently thinks it possible that in time exchange may be gradually raised to whatever rate is finally decided on, even if that rate be 2s. gold to the rupee, although the present rate measured in gold is only 13 4 pence to the rupee, notwithstanding the fact that during the last few months the balance of trade has turned in favour of India. Like him, I hope to see an improvement in the present low value of the rupee, but I am less sanguine than he seems to be, and shall be content if it can be restored to its pre-war value of 16 pence measured in gold—that is, of 15 rupees to the sovereign. In order to

attain this object, I recommend the following practical measures

1 The Government of India should obtain the sanction of the Secretary of State to cancel the announcement of February 2, 1920, should announce that it will aim at giving the rupee a fixed value in exchange of one rupee for 7 53 grains of fine gold—that is one fifteenth of the gold content of the sovereign—and should make the sovereign a legal tender in India at the old ratio of 15 rupees

2 Steps should be taken to make a gradual reduction in the amount of currency notes in circulation to 1,000 million rupees by—(a) selling in the open market the 24 3 million sovereigns worth of gold now in the Indian currency reserve, (b) selling a sufficient quantity of the Government securities in the currency and gold standard reserves

3 If this process resulted in an unmanageable accumulation of rupee coins in the currency reserve, a proportion of them should be melted and sold as bullion in the open market

4. Not a single new rupee should be minted, nor should a single new currency note be issued, until the rate of exchange of the rupee has risen to 16 pence measured in gold—that is, to one fifteenth of the gold content of the sovereign

I also recommend that the Indian accounts and budget should be recast, all gold being estimated at its present market value in rupees, and all sterling being turned into rupees at the probable average rate of exchange of the year, say 1s 5d per pound sterling, with no large item for "loss on exchange."

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

EDUCATION IN THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

BY M. SAVAYANAGI

(President of the Japanese Educational Association)

DESPITE the heading, "Education in the Japanese Empire," space precludes comprehensive observations on education as at present conducted throughout Japanese territory. I have, therefore, been compelled to leave out of consideration Korea, Formosa, and Saghalien Island. It is not entirely devoid of academic interest, and, moreover, is a tempting subject for a descriptive treatise, to trace Japan's educational system to its starting point and consider the historical features of its development. Amongst the characteristic differences between Japan and the rest of the world stands out the fact that the uninterrupted history of her civilization goes back to over 2 600 years, thus covering the period of her national existence to the present day if we exclude the still more ancient and mythical period. But I have no space to treat these points here.

The educational system formulated simultaneously with the restoration of 'New Japan,' which completely removed the heavy yoke of feudalism some fifty years ago, is an outcome of a comparative study of similar systems prevailing in the Western World, in the adoption of which much discretion was used, while our former educational systems, hitherto sacred to tradition, were boldly discarded. To a casual observer there might appear neither cognate relationship nor a consistent connection between our new and old educational systems. Nevertheless, there is ground to believe that the new educational system has duly attained maturity and produced great and wholesome effects, because

preparations for the new system have been made during a very long time.

Indeed, Japan's educational system may be regarded as the superstructure erected by unsparing effort upon a foundation already fully tested. There is a striking contrast between the system of Japan and those of European countries, as the latter have grown up spontaneously in the course of several centuries. The whole arrangement of the European educational systems, in respect of school organizations, inter-relationship of schools and so forth have been brought about without any attempt at a thorough preliminary investigation. The reverse is the case with Japan, her system being the result of a thorough investigation and not of a natural growth, so that it can even bear the test of a scrupulous synthetic analysis, and is therefore I venture to say the nearest to the ideal, if viewed from the standpoint of systematic superiority alone. It need scarcely be said that I do not consider our educational system necessarily to possess every practical advantage, though I dare assert that our system, from the abstract point of view is as good as it should be.

Soon after the birth of New Japan in the year 1868 the Department of Education came into existence, and the present educational system was formulated after minute studies and elaborate investigations. The first education regulations issued were comprehensive including elementary, secondary, higher, technical education, and also the normal schools.

The connection between elementary and secondary education is maintained most closely. This close relationship, I fear baffle English readers, but equally beyond comprehension to us Japanese is the almost complete absence of connection between elementary and secondary education in England. For instance, boys and girls of Japanese secondary institutions are without a single exception ex pupils of the elementary schools. All University students come from secondary schools previous to which,

without exception, they attended primary schools. In Japan preparatory and public schools of any description are conspicuous by their absence, which illustrates the close connection between the three grades of education—elementary, secondary, and higher

Japanese elementary education is divided into two courses, the ordinary and the advanced, providing for a six years' and a two or three years' term respectively. The ordinary course is obligatory from the age of six to the age of twelve, and public opinion is at present in favour of its extension to the age of fourteen. This is now thought very likely to have Governmental approval in the near future, and in that case ordinary as well as advanced courses will have to be completed in eight years. At present the advanced course still remains optional.

The majority of those who have completed the advanced course enter a business career of some kind or other while others take the advanced or intermediate courses. The statistics of 1918 show that the number of children completing the ordinary course was 908 862, out of which 442,660 continued with the advanced course, whereas secondary schools received 38,544 boys and 31,312 girls. Of course there were a great number of entrants to continuation schools directly after the completion of the ordinary course. At the present day Japan is well supplied with continuation schools, of which there are 10,777 with 476,349 pupils. In some of these continuation schools subjects of a more advanced character are taught to much older pupils.

I should like to make it quite clear here that in practice a close inter relationship between diverse schools is not always obtained. Not every child who has finished the ordinary course of a primary school, and who is entitled for entrance to a secondary school, obtains admission, owing to deficiency in accommodation. To day about one-half of the total number of such applicants are admitted, and they are first subjected to a competitive examination of a

pretty severe standard thus inflicting considerable hardship on the youthful applicants and on their parents. The case is worse with regard to prospective students in higher education, who, having spent the stipulated time in a secondary school, are legally entitled to have their application granted. They also are obliged to submit to a most severe entrance examination, on account of a similar deficiency in accommodation in the higher institutions. In round numbers only one-third of these students are admitted eventually so deplorable is the situation in Japan at this moment.

The accommodation of secondary schools is, nevertheless by no means limited: the number of secondary schools of various kinds totalling 1,230 in the year 1918. Japanese schools are generally large, the total sitting accommodation being 371,750, or an average of some 310 scholars per school. Of secondary school pupils there are 66 per 10,000 of population. Failing the exact figure in England for secondary school pupils we may, perhaps estimate their quota at 297,000 on the assumption that England's population is 45,000,000 so that the proportion of pupils is almost the same as in my country. Pupils between twelve to eighteen years of age should be included. In Japanese secondary schools none are admitted under twelve years, until which age the boy or girl are expected to remain in primary school. In this respect there would appear to be nothing corresponding to the educational systems of European countries. Omitting intentionally the exact statistics, it must be noted that higher educational institutions in no small numbers are scattered all over the Japanese Empire.

To sum up, a well planned and systematic connection between different schools in Japan has not been put into satisfactory execution on account of the shortage in school accommodation, a remedy lies in the simple expedient of erecting more and more secondary and higher grade schools. Secondary school accommodation is being in-

creased by something like two score annually, and a few annual additions are being made to the number of higher-grade schools

The Japanese are inclined to take education too seriously in so far as they are earnestly anxious for higher education, to obtain which they will submit to the greatest personal hardships. There is perhaps no nation as crazy for education as my compatriots. Instances are not infrequent in Japan where parents send their children to school even if their hereditary landed property must be disposed of, or heavy debts contracted for that purpose. One is sometimes agreeably surprised to find in the lower classes of Japan men who have completed secondary, even higher, education, and this peculiarity explains the numerical excess of aspirants for secondary and higher education.

Besides the particular phases, characteristic of Japan's educational system which have just been outlined, a democratic feature in the system is in a great measure noticeable. Irrespective of social classes and conditions, the children from rich and poor parents are brought up in primary schools in the self same manner for six years. Of late several primary schools have been newly opened to cater chiefly for the children of the rich charging higher fees but their number is still so small as to be almost negligible. A large percentage of secondary and higher school students belong to the lower classes. An Englishman might be nonplussed and unable to understand this circumstance and I believe that nowhere else in the world, save in Japan, can one find a parallel to this phenomenon.

Japan has five State Universities more than a dozen colleges, and eight Universities in private hands, all vested with the authority necessary for conferring diplomas. Female University students are very few in number compared with those in the Universities of foreign countries. There are two other Universities exclusively for female students. In the State Universities the number of female undergraduates are very, very few and including non-

collegiate members do not exceed one hundred. The two Imperial Universities, one in Tokyo and the other in Kyoto could compete, probably without much difficulty, with any of the best of the world famous Universities abroad. Inscribed on the faculty of the Tokyo Imperial University are approximately 180 professors, 70 assistant professors and 170 lecturers. Its yearly expenditure reaches a grand total of Yen 3,600,000.

For training competent teachers a separate system of an excellent kind is arranged and for the future teachers of primary schools provision is made in numerous normal schools in different localities throughout the country, and for those of secondary schools there are four higher normal schools. University graduates are eligible for a teachership in secondary schools under the regulations framed specifically for that end.

The Japanese school curriculum includes almost all subjects which are taught in English schools, the only exceptions being lessons in Latin and Greek, the place of these being taken by the Chinese classics and the study of Ethics is substituted for that of Scripture. That Japanese education has no bearing whatever on religion constitutes one of its outstanding features.

In Japan there are, of course, private institutions of every grade, but these are so few that the entire elementary educational system may be said to be established and maintained solely at public expense. With regard to secondary education only some 10 per cent. of the establishments are in private endowment. Private Universities, though larger in number, cannot be compared with their national sister institutions as regards membership and equipment, not to speak of scholarship.

Japanese education is progressive in the extreme, and there is no hesitation in following the better example of other countries. While upholding the inborn spirit of Japan, cherished ever since the early days of our national foundation, Japanese educationalists are likewise very desirous to intro-

duce new ideas and knowledge from the Western world. We have learned much and are glad to learn more from England as to her educational system. In recent years the Adult Education System in England has attracted our careful attention, and, again the People's High School System in Denmark is thought full of value by many Japanese authorities. Thus Japanese educationalists are ever taking pains to get still nearer to the most perfect type of education.

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